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PLATES

No. 35—A NEW GREEK INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA AT KANDAHAR

(*1 Plate*)

D. Schlumberger and E. Benveniste, Strasbourg

(*Received on 20.11.1965*)

The document.—by D. Schlumberger, Professor at Strasbourg University, former Director of the Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan.

The discovery of the inscription here published and studied[1] we owe to Dr. W. S. Seyring, a German physician. The stone, when he first noticed it in November 1963, was lying in the ruins of **Old-Kandahar** in front of a small Moslem shrine. He bought it and presented it to the Afghan National Museum in Kabul, thus saving this most important document from probable destruction.

In February 1964, an inquiry was conducted on the spot by A. A. Motamedi, Director General of the Afghan Department of Antiquities and two members of the Délégation Archéologique Francaise : M. Le Berre, architect and at the time, director *ad interim* : and G. Fussman, archaeologist.

The inscription, they were told, had turned up somewhere in the area of the old city, and has been brought to the shrine by a labourer. But this man could not be found and neither the date, nor the precise spot of the find could be ascertained.

In September 1964, D. Schlumberger spent two days at Kandahar, in a renewed effort for finding out something, with the assistance of M. Paul Bernard, of Miss May Elziere, acting as interprerer and several others : with no result whatsoever.

The stone is a rectangular block of porous lime-stone, 45 cm high, 69·5 cm wide, 12·13 cm thick, in excellent condition, except on the left side, where the upper and lower corners are somewhat damaged.

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[1] First published by D. Schlumberger, in *Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1964, pp. 126-40 from a squeeze and photographs made by M. Le Berre, difficulties being solved and important observations being added by L. Robert. A first copy and translation had been made in Kabul by G. Fussman. Published anew by E. Benveniste in *Journal Asiatique*, 1964, pp. 137-57, with a thorough commentary. These two articles are here condensed. They should be consulted for details. [Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article in Sanskritic expressions—Ed.]

TEXT[1]

1 [.εὐ]σέβεια καὶ ἐγκράτεια κατὰ πάσας τὰς διατριβάς· ἐγκρατὴς δὲ μάλιστά ἐστιν
ὃς ἂν γλώσης ἐγκρατὴς ἦι. Καὶ μήτε ἑαυτοὺς ἐπα[ι]νῶσιν, μήτε τῶν πέλας ψέγωσιν
περὶ μηδενός· κενὸγ γάρ ἐστιν· καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς πέλας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ
4 μὴ ψέγειν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς αὔξουσι καὶ τοὺς
πέλας ἀνακτῶνται· παραβαίνοντες δὲ ταῦτα, ἀκ(λ)εέστεροί τε γίνονται καὶ τοῖς
πέλας ἀπέχθονται. Οἳ δ᾽ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινῶσιν, τοὺς δὲ πέλας ψέγωσιν φιλοτιμότερον
διαπράτονται, βουλόμενοι παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγλάμψαι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον βλάπτου[σι]
8 ἑαυτούς. Πρέπει δὲ ἀλλήλους θαυμάζειν καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων διδάγματα παραδέχεσθα[ι].
Ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες πολυμαθέστεροι ἔσονται, παραδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις ὅσα
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπίσταται. Καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπ[α]σκοῦσι ταῦτα μὴ ὀκνεῖν λέγειν ἵνα δει-
αμείνωσιν διὰ παντὸς εὐσεβοῦντες. Ὀγδόωι ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Πιοδάσσου
12 κατέστρ(α)πται τὴν Καλίγγην. Ἦν ἐζωγρημένα καὶ ἐξηγμένα ἐκεῖθεν σωμάτων
μυριάδες δεκαπέντε καὶ ἀναιρέθησαν ἄλλαι μυριάδες δέκα καὶ σχεδὸν ἄλλοι τοσοῦ-
τοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἔλεος καὶ οἶκτος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν· καὶ βαρέως ἤνεγκεν
δι᾽ οὗ τρόπου ἐκέλευεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐμψύχων σπουδήν τε καὶ σύντα[ξ]ιν πεποίηται
16 περὶ εὐσεβείας. Καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι δυσχερέστερον ὑπείληφε ὁ βασιλεύς· καὶ ὅσοι ἐκεῖ ᾤκουν
βραμεναι ἢ σραμεναι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν διατρίβοντες, τοὺς ἐκεῖ οἰκοῦ-
ντας ἔδει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως συμφέροντα νοεῖν, καὶ διδάσκαλον καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
ἐπαισχύνεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν, φίλους καὶ ἑταίρους ἀγαπᾶν καὶ μὴ διαψεύδεσθαι,
20 δούλοις καὶ μισθωτοῖς ὡς κουφότατα χρᾶσθαι, τούτων ἐκεῖ τῶν τοιαῦτα διαπρασσο-
μένων εἴ τις τέθνηκεν ἢ ἐξῆκται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμ παραδρομῆι οἱ λοιποὶ ἡγεῖνται, ὁ δὲ
[β]ασιλεὺς σφόδρα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέρανεν. Καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσίν εἰσιν

Line 5. On the stone: AKAEESTEROI. Louis Robert: AK(L)EESTEROI

Line 12. KATESTREPTAI. Louis Robert: KATESTR(A)PTAI. E. Benveniste does not consider this emendation necessary.

KALIGGEN. EN read by Louis Robert.

Line 15. SYNTAXIN. Louis Robert: SYNTA(S)IN. E. Benveniste does not consider this emendation necessary.

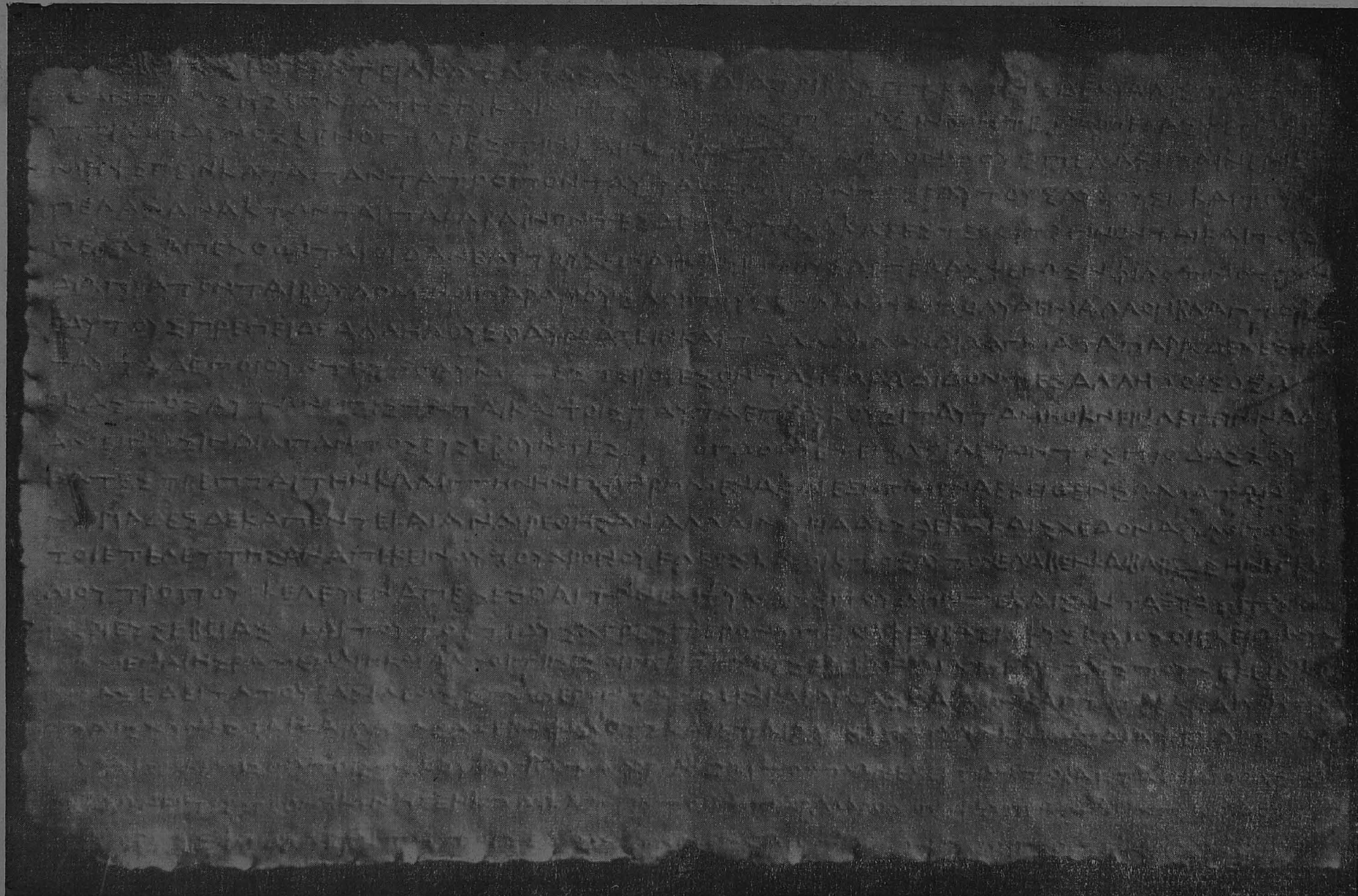
Line 21. HEGEINTAI, read by Louis Robert for HEGENTAI.

TRANSLATION

... piety and self-control in all schools (of thought). Now he is most master of himself who controls his tongue. And may they neither praise themselves nor blame other (schools) about anything; for this is vain, and it is better to praise other (schools) and to abstain from blaming them in any respect. In so doing they will extol themselves and gain the favour of the other (schools); in transgressing this, they will harm their reputation and estrange other (schools). They

[1] From a squeeze and photographs.

A NEW GREEK INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA AT KANDAHAR



(From Photograph)

who praise themselves and blame other (schools) behave in a rather conceited way ; in striving to outshine others they rather do harm to themselves. It is fit that people respect each other and accept each other's teachings. In so doing they will grow in knowledge, transmitting to each other whatever each of them knows. And there should be no hesitation in saying so to those who act accordingly, so that they will ever keep on living piously.

In the **eighth year** of his reign **Piodasses** overwhelmed **Kalinga.** One hundred fifty thousand persons were captured and deported, a hundred thousand others were killed and about as many died. From that time on he was overcome by pity and compassion, and it weighed on his mind. Just as he had given orders to abstain from (consuming) living beings, he has been zealous in organizing piety. And this he took with even more grief : the brahmans and sramans and all others who lived there (in Kalinga) practising piety,—those who lived there had to mind the king's interests, to revere and respect master, fathers and mothers, to love and refrain from deceiving friends and companions, to treat as gently as possible slaves and servants,—if, of all those who thus behaved someone died or was deported, this too others felt it as a personal sorrow, and the king was deeply afflicted thereby. And, as amongst all other nations there are ....

Anybody familiar with the Aśoka inscriptions will recognize at once what we have here : the greater part of the Twelfth Major Rock Edict, and the beginning of the Thirteenth.[1] But our document is not just one of the Prakrit texts of these Edicts turned into Greek. Although some passages are rendered with great accuracy as, for instance, the two opening sentences of the Thirteenth Edict, others are modified (for examples see Prof. Benveniste's commentary, below) ; and some are suppressed as, for instance, at the end of the Twelfth Edict, the one mentioning the *dhamma-mahāmattas*. The inscription, then, is not so much a translation, as a free and sometimes shortened adaptation from one of the Indian texts, faithful to the spirit and general meaning of Aśoka's proclamation rather than to its wording. According to Prof. L. Robert it might be described as a redrafting of the king's doctrine, in very correct and fluent Greek, devoid of any provincialism ; the vocabulary stems from the best literary tradition, and includes a number of technical terms borrowed from the contemporary philosophical and political language.

Palaeographically too, as pointed out by Prof. Robert, the inscription is a thoroughly normal Greek product of the period : the shape and spacing of the letters, their fine and careful engraving show the same characters as in less remote parts of the Greek world.

Both **language** and writing, then, testify to the unity and vigour of Greek culture in the 3rd century B.C.[2]

Our inscription is the second Aśoka document to turn up at Old-Kandahar. As will be remembered, a Graeco-Aramaic inscription of this king has already been found there in 1958.[3] It was a Rock Inscription, belonging to a well-known class of short texts, called *saṁkhitena lekhāpitā* "caused to be written concisely", and mentioned in the Fourteenth Major Rock Edict.[4] The find, important as it was, did not seem to open the way for new discoveries. The inscription being *in situ* on the cliff, both the Greek and the Aramaic versions being complete, no

1 On the stone a space, equivalent in length to about three letters, has been left blank between the end of the Twelfth Edict and the opening sentence of the Thirteenth. (See plate, middle of line 11.)

2 See Prof. L. Robert's remarks, *Comptes Rendus de l' Académie* 1964, pp. 134-140.

3 See J. Filliozat, *A Graeco-Aramaic inscription of Aśoka near Kandahar*, above, Vol. XXXIV, 1961-62, pp. 1-8 (with bibliography).

4 J. Filliozat, op. cit., p. 4, quoting E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, 1958, p. 794.

further research on the spot, no excavations for missing parts either of a monument or of the text had to be thought of.

The case is different with the new inscription. One has but to consider the abrupt way it starts and it ends, in both cases right in the middle of a sentence, to realize what it is : a fragment torn from a longer text. Two other blocks must of necessity have existed : one above our block for the beginning of the Twelfth Edict, and one below for the end of the Thirteenth Edict. Now the fact that we know of four places in India[1] where the Fourteen Major Edicts have been inscribed together on the rock, forming so to speak one body of texts, makes it at least likely that we had here a rendering in Greek of that same body. On the other hand this cannot be proved. The only thing we know for sure is that a Greek adaptation of two at least of the Major Rock Edicts, the Twelfth and the Thirteenth, had been inscribed, at Kandahar, on some kind of structure, one block of which we possess, while the existence of others (two at least) cannot be doubted.

This is a novelty, let us stress it. All other known inscriptions of Aśoka are engraved either on rocks, or on so-called pillars, i.e. monolithic shafts of columns. Here, for the first time, we have a text inscribed, as it seems, on a wall belonging to a structure in stone, or some parts of which at least were made of stone. Considering the thinness of the block, this wall is likely to have been a retaining rather than a free-standing wall. Nothing more can be said. Was this wall part of a religious or of a secular building, did it belong to a temple, a *stūpa*, a palace, a defensive structure ? We do not know.

As has been said above we have tried in vain to ascertain the spot where the stone had been found. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that new fragments of the inscription, other blocks of the monument may turn up at any time. The French Archaeological Delegation is making plans for new investigations on the site of Old-Kandahar.

II. *Greek text and Prakrit versions : some remarks*—by E. Benveniste, Professor at the Collège de France, Paris.

Before comparing the Greek text of our inscription with the parallel Prakrit texts, two general observations may not be out of place : one about the country where the inscription was discovered, the other about the name of the king who had it set up.

The country is the province called by the Greeks Arachosia, by the Arab geographers Ruxxād or Ruxxāj. Now it should be remembered that the two Prakrit texts found nearest to Arachosia, the inscriptions of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra (North-West Frontier Province, West Pakistan), show some peculiarities clearly betraying the proximity of an Iranian population. They are written in the so-called Kharoshṭhī characters, derived from the Aramaic alphabet, while all other Aśoka inscriptions are in Brāhmī characters. Moreover, the Shahbazgarhi text has the Old-Perisan word *dipi*, meaning "inscription", in its original form, while everywhere else it appears in the adapted Indian form *lipi*.

In the same area have been found two fragments of Aśoka inscriptions in Aramaic, one from Taxila (North-West Frontier Province), the other from Pul-i Daruntah, near Jelālabād (Eastern Afghanistan).[2] To these we have now to add the two inscriptions from Kandahar, of which the first is linked with them by its Aramaic text (containing, let it be remembered, at least five genuinely Iranian words),[3] while its Greek text, and the new inscription,[4] bring the proof that Greek too was being used in the area.

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[1] Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra, Kalsi, Girnar.

[2] Pibliography of these inscriptions in A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres ā Taxila* (Mém. D.A.F.A., I) II, 1947, p. 390, n.1. On the text from Pul-i Daruntah see W. B. Henning, *The Aramaic inscription of Aśoka found in Lampāka*, Bullet. School Orient. Afr. Studies, XIII, 1949, pp. 80-88.

[3] E. Benveniste, *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, p. 44.

[4] This inscription, let it be recalled, may well have been bilingual too.

Thus the existence in Arachosia of a population of Greeks and Iranians, living in close association, can no more be doubted, a fact already clearly indicated by the compound name *Yonakamboja* (in the Thirteenth Major Rock Edict) designating, as if they formed one people, the Greek *Yonas* (*Yavanas*) and the Iranian *Kambojas*. For, as was shown previously, the Iranian population in question was none other than the famous Kamboja people.[1]

In his inscriptions the king usually calls himself *devanaṁpriyo priyadrasi raya*. This formula has generally been understood by modern scholars (V. Smith, E. Hultzsch, D. R. Bhandarkar, J. Bloch) as containing two epithets, *devanaṁpriyo* i.e. "the Beloved of the Gods" and *priyadrasi*, meaning something like "of gracious mien" (J. Bloch : "au regard amical"), the personal name of the king being considered omitted. The word Aśoka, supposed to be this name, occurs but twice in the inscriptions (at Maski and at Gujarrā). The words *devanaṁpriya* and *priyadrasi*, on the other hand, both occur more than a hundred times.

Thus the king is believed, by the modern, normally to speak of himself without revealing his name. One cannot help being struck by such a strange self-designation.

The two inscriptions at Kandahar no longer allow this view to be accepted. They show unquestionably Priyadrasi (Aramaic *prydrs*, Greek PIODASSES) to be the king's name,[2] as E. Senart had rightly admitted as early as 1886.[3] Thus the frequent formula *devanaṁpriya piyadassi rājā* literally means : His Majesty (*devānaṁpriya* approximately) the king (*rājā*) Piyadassi", a regular and clear title.

Let us now confront the Greek text with the Indian versions. We shall quote the Shahbazgarhi text. The first part of the inscription, lines 1-11, faithfully renders the Indian version.

Line 1. As in the first Kandahar inscription EUSEBEIA, to be translated by "piety" is the Greek rendering for *dhamma*. Already V. Smith had considered "piety" the best equivalent for *dhamma*. About DIATRIBE see below.

"Now he is most master of himself (EGKRATES) who controls his tongue". Here we have the counterpart of AKRATES, given by the 1958 inscription. It is a good rendering of *vachaguti*.

Line 2. "And may they neither praise themselves nor blame other (schools) about anything ; for this is vain" exactly renders the opposition of *ataprashaṁḍapuja* and *parapashaṁḍagarana*, "to honour one's own sect, to belittle other's sects." At first sight the words "for this is vain" would seem to be in addition. But it is rather to be considered the equivalent of *aprakaraṇasi*, the meaning of which had not been understood this way by modern philologists (E. Hultzsch : "on improper occasions" ; J. Bloch : "hors de propos".).

Line 3. "And it is better to praise other (schools) and to abstain from blaming them in any respect" is equivalent to *Pujetaviya va chu paraprashaṁḍa tena tena akarena*, KATA PANTA TROPON being a rendering of *tena tena akarena*, "on every occasion." But the Greek text adds KAI ME PSEGEIN "and abstain from blaming", in order to go on opposing the same words.

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, p. 45 sq.

[2] R. Thapar seems to come near to this opinion, but not quite consistently when she says "the word Priyadarśi, the title used by Aśoka" (see, *Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford, 1961, p. 7) and "we are of the opinion that Aśoka was his personal name, and Priyadarśi was, as it were, an official name, which he probably began to use after his coronation" (Ibid., p. 227).

[3] E. Senart, *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi* II, 1886, p. 319.

Line 4. "In doing this they will extol themselves and gain the favour of the other (schools); in transgressing this they will harm their reputation and estrange other (schools)" is equivalent to *evaṁ karataṁ ataprashaṁḍaṁ vaḍheti paraprashaṁḍasa pi cha upakaroti tada añatha karamin*[*o*] *ataprashaṁḍa cha aṇati paraprashaṁḍasa cha apakaroti*, yet with a difference of some importance: the Greek verbs in the middle voice "they win for themselves, they alienate from themselves" are not tantamount to the Prakrit verbs in the active voice *upakaroti* and *apakaroti* "they favour, they harm (others)".

Line 8. "It is fit that people respect each other" should be equivalent with *so sayamo vo sadhu* (Shahbazgarhi) "concord is to be commended",[1] inspite of the difference.

Lines 9-11. While, in the Prakrit text, the *devanaṁpriya* twice appears as he who urges respecting the *dhamma* the Greek text omits mentioning him, simply saying "in so doing they will grow in knowledge, transmitting to each other whatever each of them knows",=*kiti savraprashaṁḍa bahusruta cha kalaṇagama cha siyasu*. POLYMATHESTEROI renders *bahusruta*, while *kalaṇagama* has been dropped. "And there should be no hesitation in saying so to those who accordingly" is equivalent to *ye cha tatra tatra prasana tesham vatavo*, a sentence diversely understood,[2] the meaning of which is now perfectly clear, in spite of slight differences; to render the Indian word *prasana*, meaning "those who are well disposed for, who are in sympathy with", the Greek has "those who act accordingly"; and, while the Prakrit version simply says: "one should tell them", the Greek text says, more emphatically: "one should not hesitate telling them". At first sight the following words "so that they will ever keep on living piously" look like an addition. But it seems they should rather be considered a shortened and free rendering of the next Indian sentence, the first part of which has been omitted, while *salavaḍhi* "progress in the essential", has become in Greek, "keeping on living piously".

These are the last words of the Greek text of the Twelfth Edict. The closing lines of the Indian text, mentioning the *dharmamahamatras* and other officials have been dropped.

The two opening sentences of the Thirteenth Edict (lines 11-14) faithfully follow the Prakrit version, with nevertheless one notable difference: while, according to the Prakrit "a hundred thousand people were killed and many times that number died (*bahutavatake va muṭe*)", according to the Greek "about as many died".

In the Prakrit text there follows a sentence which has been dropped here, only to reappear a little later (lines 15-16) as we shall see: "afterwards, now that Kalinga was annexed, the Beloved of the Gods very earnestly practised *dhamma*, desired *dhamma* and taught *dhamma*".[3]

Lines 14-16. The first sentence, "from that time on he was overcome by pity and compassion, and it weighed on his mind" obviously renders *so asti anusochana devanapriyasa vijiniti Kaligani* "since he has conquered Kalinga, the Beloved of the Gods feels remorse". But the next sentence has, at first sight, no Prakrit equivalent. Its first part "Just as he had given orders to abstain from (consuming) living beings" recalls line 5 of the first Kandahar inscription: 'the king abstains from (consuming) living beings' and seems to show this inscription to be earlier. The second part of the sentence "he has been zealous in organizing piety" we believe to be an equivalent, shifted to this place but nevertheless recognisable, of *tivre dhrama(si)lana dhramakamata dhramanusasti cha devanapriyasa*, the passage that was to be expected right after the two opening sentences and which, as we have seen, is missing there. The first of these three expressions *dhrama(si)lana* is

[1] Translation by R. Thapar, op. cit., p. 255.

[2] A correct translation had already been proposed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 1925, p. 299: "Those who are favourably disposed towards this or that sect should be informed".

[3] Translation by R. Thap ' *loc. cit.*

obscure, but the second and the third seem to accord with the Greek : *dhramakamata* " love for the Dharma" is not far from SPOUDE, i.e. " zeal for the Dharma "; *dharmanusati*, "admonition of the Dharma" we consider to be equivalent with SYNTAXIS PERI EYSEBEIAS.

Lines 16-22. Of this long sentence the beginning clearly accords with the Indian text "And this the king took with even more grief" is a good equivalent for *idaṁ pi chu tato gurumatataraṁ Devanaṁpriyasa*, including the rendering of the comparative. "The brahmans and sramans and all others who lived there (in Kalinga) practising piety" closely reproduces *ye tatra vasati bramaṇa va sramaṇa va aṁñe va prashaṁḍa*. The transcription BRAMENAI SRAMENAI (as it seems from a nominative singular BRAMENS, SRAMENES) is a novelty ; until now we only knew the form BRA<u>CH</u>MANES. What we have here is simply an adaptation of *bramana, sramana*, the forms given by the Shahbazgarhi text. Our inscription teaches us the Greek equivalent of *pāsaṁḍa* (*prasaṁḍa*), a word usually translated by "sect". It is DIATRIBE, a fact of considerable interest, already apparent at line 1. In the Buddhist scriptures *pāsaṁḍa* means "heresy". In the Asoka inscriptions it designates any kind of faith, including the king's faith. Without considering the etymology, which remains obscure, one is tempted to suppose the original meaning of the word to have been "faith (as distinct from others), specific doctrine", a secondary development, due to Buddhist dogmatism, having later brought about the meaning of "heretical sect".

Line 17. "those who lived there", echoing "all others who lived there" (line 16), is tantamount to *grahathas*, "householders". "To mind the king's interests" seems to render *agrabhuṭi susrusha* (usually translated by "obedience to superiors", where the exact meaning of *agrabhuṭi* remained uncertain[1] (Senart : "autorités").

Lines 18-22. The merits of "those who lived there" are enumerated, the different aspects of their pious conduct being, in spite of some slight differences in wording, the same as in the Indian version.

At the end we have the case of a rare Greek expression, the sense of which can be fixed with the help of the Indian text. This expression EM PARADROME HEGEINTAI (line 21) had been held by D. Schlumberger and L. Robert to mean : "they consider it a minor matter" ("les autres le tenaient pour secondaire"), the idea being that, while some people were deported or died, the others who had escaped misfortune remained little affected, the king alone being deeply grieved. The Prakrit passage has been translated as follows by R. Thapar, p. 256 : "Even those who are fortunate to have escaped . . . suffer from the misfortune of their friends, acquaintances, colleagues and relatives", other translation in English (Bhandarkar), French (J. Bloch), German (Lüders) agreeing with this meaning. Thus the Greek text would contrast the indifference of "the others" with the king's grief, while the Indian text, quite at the opposite, shows "the others" sharing the pain of those whom the war had struck. Such a discrepancy can hardly be accepted. We believe EMPARADROME to mean something like "in accompaniment, in association (with)", the meaning of the passage then being tantamount to "this (misfortune) the others resented by sympathy, as if it were their own". In this expression we probably have a free equivalent of *pratibhagaṁ* (*cha*) *etaṁ savramanusanam*, "this after-effect is of (felt by) all men". The Greek and the Indian versions would thus be in agreement.

At the end of the sentence "and the king was deeply affected thereby" is a close rendering of *gurumataṁ cha devanaṁpriyasa*.

Of the following sentence we have but the fi st words : "and as amongst all other nations there are" . . . With the help of the Prakrit texts we can restore "brahmans and sramans". But here,

[1] J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Asoka*, Paris, 1949, p. 126, n. 7.

just here, an important difference is to be noted between the Shahbazgarhi version and the others. According to these brahmans and sramans "are to be found everywhere except with the Greeks". At Shahbazgarhi this restriction has been dropped, and no mention is made of the Greeks. How had this passage been drafted at Kandahar, in a text destined for the Greeks themselves? Unfortunately we cannot know.

No. 36—A PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKSHATRAPA RUPIAMMA FROM PAWNI

(*1 Plate*)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(*Received on 3.8.1966*)

Pawni on the bank of the Waingaṅgā in the Bhandara District is an ancient place. Many years ago an inscription and a stone relic box are said to have been found there, but no notice of them has been preserved and they are not traceable now. Nearly thirty years ago the place was inspected by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit who recommended to Government some sites for protection. A notice was accordingly issued, but it was not followed up. Soon after the foundation of the Madhya Pradesh Samshodhan Mandal I visited the place in company with some members of the Mandal. Our attention was drawn to a large inscribed slab which was then lying in a pit there. The inscription was copied and later edited by me in this Journal.[1] It records the establishment of a *pādukā-paṭṭa* by Bhagadatta, the king of the Bhāra family. It is not dated, but on the evidence of palaeography it may be referred to the beginning of the Christian era. The slab has since been removed to the Central Museum, Nagpur. Later, a small coin was found in the same pit. It is of Dimabhāga and has been published by me in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*[2]

The present **pillar inscription** was discovered while digging in a field belonging to Mr. Maniram Lanjewar at Pawni nearly eight years ago. It remained unnoticed until Mr. G. N. Dikshit, my former student and now Head Master of the Waingaṅgā High School at Pawni, drew my attention to it nearly two years ago. He sent me an eye-copy of the record at my suggestion. It was not possible to read the whole record from it, but it clearly showed the word *Sidhaṁ* in the beginning, which indicated that it was an ancient record. I then requested Mr. V. P. Rode, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, to get the record copied for me. He kindly sent Mr. Mulay of the Museum to Pawni for the purpose. From the estampages taken by him the record could be read completely. Later it was also copied by Dr. G. S. Gai in the course of his visit to Nagpur. The stone containing the inscription has since been removed to the Museum. I edit the inscription here from an excellent estampage supplied by Dr. Gai.[3]

The record is inscribed on a fragment of a stone pillar which is broken irregularly. It measures 30 cm in breadth and from 30 to 57 cm in height. On this fragment there is at the top a semicircular figure of a half lotus, measuring 13 cm in height and below this, separated by two horizontal lines, there is an inscription in three lines in early Brāhmī characters. The first two lines measure nearly 29 cm but the third is only 9 cm in length. The **characters** are of about the second century A.D. The angular form of *chhā* in *chhāyā-khaṁbho*[4] in line 3 is noteworthy. The **language** is Prakrit. Worthy of note are the change of *p* to *v* in *Mahākhattava* and the use of a conjunct consonant in that word.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 ff.

[2] *JNSI*, Vol. VI, pp. 9 f.

[3] [The inscription has been noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B 346 and introduction p. 7.--Ed.]

[4] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that the sculptured pillar (*chhāyā-khaṁbho*) was of (i.e. was set up in memory of) *Mahākshatrapa Kumāra* **Rupiamma.** The use of the title *Mahākshatrapa* in connection with Rupiamma shows that he probably belonged to the Śaka race. He is called *Kumāra* like the *Mahāsenāpati* Elī-Ehavuladāsa in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription.[1]

The *Kshatrapas* and *Mahākshatrapas* were Governors appointed by foreign Emperors to rule over the provinces of their Empire. From inscriptions and coins we know the names of the Śaka *Kshatrapas* Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, who were appointed probably by the Kushāṇa Emperors to govern Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. The inscriptions of Nahapāna range in date from the year 41 to 46, which are usually referred to the Śaka era, and thus correspond to 119 to 124 A.D. These Kshatrapas ousted the Sātavāhanas from the aforementioned territory and ruled there for a few years. From the inscriptions of Nahapāna and his son-in-law Ushavadāta in the caves at Nasik and Junnar we know that Nahapāna ruled over a large territory extending from Ajmer in the north to Poona in the south and from Kathiawad in the west to Malwa in the east. He was later overthrown by the great Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who wrested Northern Maharashtra, Konkan, Gujarat, Kathiawad, Malwa and other provinces from him. Later, Chashṭana, who also was a *Kshatrapa* probably appointed by the Kushāṇas, conquered Kathiawad and Malwa from the Sātavāhanas. His descendants continued to rule over these provinces until the last of them was overthrown by Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya in *circa* 395 A.D.

These Kshatrapas, though Śaka or Scythian by race, were soon Hinduised and assumed Hindu names. Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Chashṭana are foreign names, but their descendants in the second generation assumed Indian names. As stated before, Nahapāna's son-in-law was Ushavadāta (Ṛishabhadatta). His daughter married to the latter was named Dakshamitrā. Chashṭana's son was Jayadāman and grandson, Rudradāman. The *Mahākshatrapa* of the present inscription bears the name Rupiamma, which does not appear Indian. He was therefore probably one of the early Kshatrapas ruling over Vidarbha.

It was known for a long time that Western Maharashtra and Konkan had been conquered by the Kushāṇas and placed under Kashtrapas, but it was not known that Kushāṇa power had spread to Vidarbha also. The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it has shown for the first time that Vidarbha also had passed under the rule of the Kushāṇas. As a matter of fact, Kushāṇa coins have been found much further in the east in Dakshiṇa Kosala or Chhattisgadh. Many years ago, the late Pandit Lochanaprasad Pandeya sent me some copper coins of Early Kushāṇa emperors for decipherment. Recently Mr. Balchand Jain also has discovered some coins of the type in Chhattisgadh. Since copper coins do not travel much farther from the region where they are in circulation, it is not unlikely that Kushāṇa power had spread to Chhattisgadh also; but we have so far no indisputable evidence of it. The present inscription, however, leaves no doubt that it had spread to Vidarbha.

The pillar set up in memory of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rupiamma is called *Chhāyā-khaṁbho* (Sanskrit *Chhāyā-stambha*). This is the earliest instance of the use of this word. Later, we notice it in several records. Thus, an inscription recently discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records the erection of a *Chhāyā-stambha* in memory of Elī Ehavuladāsa. Another inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records the erection of another *Chhāyā-stambha* in memory of the deceased queen Vammabhaṭā in the 11th regnal year of the Ikshvāku king Ruḍapurisadata.[2] That a *Chhāyā-stambha* meant a sculptured pillar is shown by the panel of three figures viz. the queen and her two attendants, carved above the record on this pillar. Another early record mentioning a *Chhāyā-stamba* (sculptured pillar) has been discovered at Gaṅgaperūru in the Cuddapah District.[3] It is of about the

[1] Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10 ff.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.
[3] *ABSIE*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 228.

A PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKSHATRAPA RUPIAMMA FROM PAWNI



2 2

Scale : One-half

third or fourth century A.D. and records that a person named Śivadāsa died in a fight on the occasion of a cattle-raid. As that record is on the broken shaft of a pillar, it is not possible to say if it originally contained any sculpture, but that the *Chhāyā-stambhas* were usually memorial pillars is also shown by an inscription in the Kūrmeśvara temple which records that the Gaṅga king Bhānudēva dedicated to the god Kūrmanātha the images of his father and mother with lamps in their hands.[1] As the present stone is only a fragment of a pillar, it is not possible to say whether it originally contained any sculpture.

Rupiamma bears the title of *Kumāra* besides that of *Mahākshatrapa.*[2] This recalls the use of that title in connection with the name of the *Mahāsenāpati* Elī Ehavuladāsa in the aforementioned Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription. As Elī Ehavuladāsa was the step-brother of the then reigning king Ehuvula Chāntamūla, the editor of the inscription took *Kumāra* in the sense of 'a prince'.[3] The use of the word in connection with the name of a *Mahākshatrapa* shows that it was used as a title of high personages. It corresponds to the title *Kumārāmātya* noticed in several records of the Gupta period.

The present pillar was erected on the bank of the Waingaṅgā. Such *Chhāyā-stambhas* were generally erected at holy places such as the sites near temples or the banks of sacred rivers. From very early times the Waingaṅgā has been regarded as very holy. The *Mahābhārata* says that one who fasts for three nights on the bank of the Veṇā (Waingaṅgā) gets an aerial car to go to heaven.[4] It is not therefore surprising that this sculptured pillar should be erected in memory of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rupiamma on the bank of the Waingaṅgā.

Rupiamma's successor does not seem to have ruled in Vidarbha for a long time. Like Nahapāna, he was overthrown by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The latter seems to have conquered Vidarbha first and established himself in the Waingaṅgā region before he invaded Western Maharashtra and exterminated the Kshaharāta *Kshatrapa* Nahapāna. In the record which he got incised in a cave at Nasik soon after his victory he describes himself as *Beṇākaṭaka-svāmī*, i.e. the ruler of the Veṇā (or Waingaṅgā) region.[5] The meaning of this epithet was not known for a long time. The occurrence of the territorial expressions Bennākaṭa[6] and Beṇṇākārparabhāga[7] in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, however, leaves no doubt that Veṇākaṭa or Beṇṇā-kaṭaka means the Waingaṅgā region.

The present short pillar inscription has thus shed very important light on the ancient history of Vidarbha.

TEXT[8]

1 Sidhaṁ [| *] Mahakhattava-Kumārasa

2 **Rupiaṁmasa** chhāyā-

3 khaṁbho [| *]

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[1] *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

[2] *Mahākhattava-kumāra* cannot be taken in the sense of 'a son of Mahākshatrapa', for in that case the name of the Mahākshatrapa would have been stated. Besides, *kumāra* is nowhere used in the sense of a son in Kshatrapa inscriptions.

[3] Above, Vol. XXXV, p. 10.

[4] Vanaparvan (Chitraśālā Press Ed.), *adhyāya* 85, verse 33.

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff.

[6] *CII*, Vol. V, p. 50.

[7] Ibid., p. 30.

[8] From the estampage supplied by Dr. Gai and the original stone. I have received some help in the decipherment and interpretation of this record from Mr. N. L. Rao and Dr. Gai.

No. 37—MAHISANTOSH IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAPALA, YEAR 15

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(*Received on 15.11.1966*)

A few years ago, the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, collected an inscribed stone image of the Sun-god discovered at the village of **Mahīsantōsh** (Dinajpur District, East Pakistan) from the Prāchya Bhāratī Library at Bāluṛghāṭ (West Dinajpur District, West Bengal). The village lies about three miles to the south of Bālurghāṭ near the bank of the river Ātrēyī. More than half a century ago, N. K. Bhattasali described the extensive ruins and antiquities of Mahīsantōsh, the name of which he was inclined to associate with that of the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (c. 990-1040 A. D.) of Bengal and Bihar.[1] It may be noted, however, that the inscription under study points to the prosperous condition of the village at least about a century earlier. Bhattasali was further inclined to identify the village with the city of Vilāsapura whence the Bāṇgaḍh plate of Mahīpāla I was issued,[2] though, as rightly pointed out by B. B. Ray,[3] Vilāsapura stood on the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) and could hardly have been identified with Mahīsantōsh on the Ātrēyī, far away from the Ganges.

Bhattasali's description makes it clear that Mahīsantōsh represents an old city which contained a fortress (about 400×300 yards). Much of the walls (about 12 or 13 cubits in height) of this fortress and parts of the moat around them are still extant. That Mahīsantōsh continued to enjoy its importance during the period of Muslim rule is indicated by a mosque that was built there in A. H. 875 (1470 A. D.) by Sarāf Khān, a courtier of Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh of Bengal. A Darga at the village is celebrated in wide areas of North Bengal. Bhattasali thought that the mosque had been built on the ruins of a big temple of the Pāla age. Only the *kīrtimukha*, originally at the door of the said temple, is now traceable and it is said to be about three maunds in weight and 2 feet 3 inches in both length and breadth. There is also a big mound covering the ruins of what is known as the Bāradvārī (literally, 'the structure having twelve or many doors').

Recently, one of my research Assistants named Ramprasad Majumdar, who happened to notice the two-line inscription on the pedestal of the image at the state Archaeological Galleries, showed me an indifferent eye-copy of the record, which he had himself prepared. A glance at the eye-copy convinced me of the importance of the date portion of the epigraph, though it was not possible to read all the *aksharas* of the record from the copy. I therefore requested the Directorate for a few inked impressions. The attitude of the Directorate was, however, unhelpful; but, learning in the meantime that the inscription had been copied about the beginning of 1965 by Shri P. R. Srinivasan, Superintendent for Epigraphy, I wrote to Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India. Dr. Gai not only sent me two impressions of the inscription, but also permitted me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. For this I am thankful to him as well as to Shri Srinivasan.

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1 See *Pravāsī* (Bengali), Kārttika, B. S. 1321, pp. 48 ff. Mahītōsha, the same as Mahīsantosha, is even now a personal name in Bengal, so that the village of Mahīsantōsh may have been so called after a person of that name.

2 He also associated the name of the neighbouring Mahīgañj with that of the same Pāla king and identified Bhāṭśālā in the neighbourhood with the original home of the Varendra Brāhmaṇas of the Bhaṭṭaśālī-gāñi.

3 Ibid., Agrahāyana, B. S. 1321, p. 230.

Of the two estampages, the first giving the impression of the two lines of writing at the lower end of the pedestal is better and the letters can be read from it without difficulty, even though the preservation of the writing is not exceptionally satisfactory and the engraving of the letters rather careless. But the other estampage offering an impression of the whole pedestal is important because it suggests that the concluding letters of the epigraph were engraved about the middle, a few inches above the writing at the lower end. Unfortunately these letters, about five in number, are rubbed off and their reading can only be tentative.

The main inscription in two lines covers an area about 14″×1½″ and an *akshara* is about ½″× ½″ in size. The **characters** belong to the **East Indian alphabet of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D.** and internal evidence would suggest that the record was engraved near about **900 A. D.** An interesting palaeographical feature of the epigraph is the use of a cursive form of the Bengali type of *anusvāra* in *saptamyāṁ* in line 1. The engraving is indifferent as already indicated above and the **language** is corrupt Sanskrit. The record is **dated in the year 15, the seventh *tithi* of the month of Mārga** (**Mārgaśīrsha**), during the victorious **reign of the illustrious Mahēndrapāladēva.** In the royal name, the *ē-mātrā* in *hē* resembles the corresponding vowel-mark in *dē* while *ndra* has been written as *ndhra* and *h* and *d* have their left limb rounded and angular respectively. King Mahēndrapāla of the record is undoubtedly the Gurjara-Pratīhāra monarch of that name, who ruled in c. 885-908 A. D.

The inscription records that the **Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka**, i.e. the image of the Sun-god bearing the epigraph, was caused to be made by a person named Lōkanandin who was the son (*sūnu*) of Gaṅganandin and the grandson (*naptṛi*) of Vishṇunandin. About seven *aksharas* at the end of line 2 appear to mention a *Gaṇaka* (accountant or astrologer) whose name began with the *akshara vī* (probably Vīsajara=Vishajvara). The traces of the *aksharas* about the middle of the pedestal are unfortunately not of any help to us. The said person was probably responsible for writing or engraving the document.

The **date of the incription is of importance** to the student of East Indian history since it throws welcome light on the problem of the struggle between the Pālas of Bengal and Bihār and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Western India and especially on that of the **Gurjara-Pratīhāra occupation of Eastern India.** Till now, Mahēndrapāla's occupation of South Bihar was known from his (1) British Museum inscription of year 2, (2) Bihārsharif (Patna District). Buddha image inscription of year 4, (3) British Museum inscription of year 6 or 9, (4) Rāmgayā (Gaya District) Daśāvatāra panel inscription of year 8, (5) Gunariyā (Gaya District) inscription of year 9, and (6) Bihārsharif inscription of a doubtful date,[1] while his rule over North Bengal was indicated by the Pahāḍpur (Rajshahi District) inscription of year 5.[2] The importance of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it definitely suggests the continued hold of the Gurjara-Patīhāra monarch over wide areas of Bihar and Bengal as late as the fifteenth year of his reign, i.e. down to about 900 A. D.

The struggle between the Pālas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras began with Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.) on the one hand and Vatsarāja(c. 775-800 A. D.) and his son Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 800-33

[1] Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, Nos. 1641-42, 1644-47. No. 6 (Bhandarkar's No. 1647), in which the date read as the year 19 is supposed to be wrong, is now regarded as the same as No. 3 (Bhandarkar's No. 1644) in which the date is read as year 6 or 9. See R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 64 ; *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 175.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1643 ; *Mem. ASI*, No. 55, p. 75; *ARASI*, 1925-26, p. 141 [H. C. Ray has wrongly taken the date of this inscription as year 13. Cf. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 303.—Ed.]

A. D.) on the other.[1] According to certain epigraphic records of Rāshṭrakuṭa Gōvinda III (c. 794-814 A. D.), his father Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja who had previously overpowered the king of Gauḍa (i.e. Dharmapāla) and snatched away the latter's two white umbrellas (i.e. his insignia of sovereignty).[2] Vatsarāja seems to have routed Dharmapāla as an ally of king Indrāyudha or Indrarāja of Kanauj, who is known to have been ruling in the north in the year 783 A. D. (Śaka 705) according to a tradition recorded in the Jain *Harivaṁśa.*[3] But Vatsarāja's defeat at the hands of Dhruva gave Dharmapāla the opportunity to lead a vigorous attack on Indrāyudha who therefore appealed for help to Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda II (c. 775-80 A.D.) and the Rāshṭrakūṭa king sent his younger brother Dhruva against Dharmapāla.[4] Dhruva defeated the Gauḍa king in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb (i.e. the Kanauj region),[5] though soon afterwards he went back to the Deccan where he occupied the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne by removing his brother. Dharmapāla then ousted Indrarāja from the throne of Kanauj, which he gave to his protégé Chakrāyudha.[6] Indrāyudha thereupon appealed to Gōvinda III who had earlier defeated Nāgabhaṭa II. Dharma and Chakrāyudha now surrendered to Gōvinda III who seems to have accepted Chakrāyudha as the king of Kanauj.[7] Gōvinda's departure to the Deccan, however, enabled Nāgabhaṭa II to put greater pressure on Chakrāyudha and his support, the king of Vaṅga (i.e. Dharmapāla), both of whom were defeated

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[1] This struggle is usually represented as a tripartite contest among the Pālas, Gurjara-Pratīhāras and Rāshṭrakūṭas for the purpose of occupying Kanauj. But the struggle was really quadripartite considering the participation of the Āyudhas of Kanauj and the mention of the Āyudha monarch in the Jain *Harivaṁśa* side by side with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra and Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors. The Rāshṭrakūṭa records also show that their struggle with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras began with the success of Dantidurga (c. 740-56 A. D.) against the Prathīhāra king (probably Nāgabhaṭa I) at Ujjayinī while Gōvinda III is stated to have appointed Kakka his viceroy in Lāṭa (South Gujarat) for the protection of Mālava (in the Mahī valley in Gujarat) from Gurjara-Prathīhāra aggression. This struggle had nothing to do with the occupation of Kanauj because it started when the city was under the occupation of Yaśōvarman (c. 725-53 A.D.) and the contest was apparently confined to the Malwa-Gujarat region. Cf. *dattaṁ yēn=Ōjjayinyām=api nṛipati-mahādānam=āścharya-bhūtam* and *saudhē=’smin kṛita-Gurjarēndra-ruchirē* in the Ellora Daśāvatāra cave inscription of Dantidurga (A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 34 note 12 and p. 40, note 33); *Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ rājanyair=Ujjayinyāṁ yad=āsitam | pratihārīkṛitaṁ yēna Gūrjarēśādi-rājakam* in the Sañjān plates of Amōghavarsha I (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 243, verse 9); *Gauḍēndra-Vaṅgapati-nirjaya-durvidagdha-sad-Gūrjarēśvara-dig-argalatāṁ cha yasya | nītvā bhujaṁ vihata-Mālava-rakshaṇārthaṁ svāmī tath=ānyam=api rājya-phalāni bhuṅktē* in the Baroda plates of Kakka (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160, lines 39-40). For Mālava, see *Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-5.

[2] Cf. *Hēlā-svīkrita-Gauḍa-rājya-kamalā-mattaṁ pravēśy=āchirād=durmārgaṁ marumadhyam=apratibalair=yō Vatsarājaṁ balaiḥ | Gauḍīyāṁ śarad-indu-pāda-dhavalaṁ chhatra-dvayaṁ kēvalaṁ tasmān=n=āhṛita tad-yaśō=’pi kakubhāṁ prāntē sthitaṁ tat-kshaṇāt* in records like the Radhanpur and Wani Dindori plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157; above, Vol. VI, p. 243).

[3] *JRAS*, 1909, p. 253 : *Śākēshv=abda-śatēshu saptasu diśaṁ pañch-ōttarēsh=ūttarāṁ pāt=Īndrāyudha-nāmni Krishṇa-nṛipajē Śrīvallabhē dakshiṇām | pūrvāṁ śrīmad-Avanti-bhūbhṛiti nṛipē Vats-ādhirājē=’parāṁ Sauryāṇām=adhimaṇḍalē Jaya-yutē vīrē Varāhē=’vati ||*

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 59. The Rāmēśvaram inscription speaks of the presence of the army of Gōvinda II in the valley of the Ganges (ibid., p. 63, verse 7 : *yat-sainya-nāgēndra-mad-āmbuvattcād=Gāṅgaṁ payō Yāmunavad=vibhāti*). The same expedition seems to be attributed to Dhruva in the Sañjān plates. Dhruva was the *de facto* ruler during his brother's reign.

[5] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 244, verse 14 : *Gaṅgā-Yamunayōr=madhyē rājñō Gauḍasya naśyataḥ | lakshmī-līl-āravindāni śvēta-chchhatrāṇi yō=’harat.*

[6] Maitreya, *Gauḍalēkhamala*, p. 57, verse 3 : *Jitv-Ēndrarāja-prabhṛitīn=arātīn=upārjitā yēna Mahōdaya-brīḥ | dattā punaḥ sā balin=ārthayitrē Chakrāyudhāy=ānati-vāmanāya*; cf. ibid., p. 14, verse 12 : *hṛishyat=Pañchāla-vriddh-ōddhṛita-kanakamaya-sv-ābhishēk-ōdakumbhō dattaḥ śrī-Kanyakubjas=salalita-chalita-bhrū-latā-lakshma yēna.*

[7] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 245, verse 23 : *svayam=ēv=ōpanatau cha yasya mahatas=tau Dharma-Chakrāyudhau.* For Gōvinda's success against Dharma (Dharmapāla), see also ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 131, verse 23, and for that against the Gauḍas, cf. ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 102-03.

by the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king.[1] One of Nāgabhaṭa's vassals claims to have driven away (*anīnaśat*) Dharma[2] while another says that he had obtained fame in fighting with the Gauḍas at the battle of Mudgagiri (Monghyr) which lay in the heart of the Bihar portion of Dharmapāla's empire.[3] Nāgabhaṭa II now transferred his capital from the Jodhpur region to Kanauj.[4] Dharmapāla's son Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A. D.) claims to have humbled the pride of the lord of the Gurjaras[5] and this may refer to the recovery of Western Bihar from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. But the Pratīhāra king Bhōja I (c.836-85 A. D.), grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, ruled over a vast empire extending from the western border of Bihar to the Arabian Sea and was apparently more powerful than Dēvapāla.[6] And the great might of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras was exhibited by Bhōja's son Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A. D.) who occupied considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal from Nārāyaṇapāla (c.855-910 A. D.), the grandson of Dēvapāla's brother, between the 17th and 54th year of the Pāla king's reign.[7] As we have seen above, Mahēndrapāla is now found to have been in occupation of wide regions of Bihar and Bengal at least from his 2nd to his 15th regnal year. The success of Mahēndrapāla must have made Nārāyaṇapāla's position precarious as the lord of Bengal and Bihar. During the period in question, the Pāla king may have been ruling over a small part of Bengal or Bihar either as an independent monarch fighting with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras or as a subordinate ally of Mahēndrapāla. He seems to have succeeded in recovering his lost possessions after Mahēndrapāla's death when his sons, Bhōja II and Mahīpāla I, were probably involved in a civil war and fighting for the Gurjara-Pratihāra throne. It is not improbable that Nārāyaṇapāla utilised the opportunity by siding with one of the two rivals.

There is a view that the Bāghāurā image inscription discovered in the Tippera District is dated in the 3rd regnal year not of Mahīpāla I (c. 990-1040 A. D.) or II (c. 1080-83 A. D.) of the Pāla house, but of Mahīpāla I, son of Mahēndrapāla I of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty.[8] We have of course now to take into account the Nārāyaṇpur image inscription of the 4th regnal year of the same king discovered in the same District.[9] The said theory however does not appear to be easily acceptable in view of the fact that, before Nārāyaṇapāla's 54th regnal year (c. 909 A. D.), the Pālas

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[1] Cf. *jitvā par-āśraya-kṛita-sphuṭa-nīcha-bhāvaṁ Chakrāyudhaṁ vinaya-namra-vapur=vyarājat* and *nirjitya Vaṅga-patim=āvirabhūd=vivasvān=udyann=iva trijagad-ēka-vikāśakō yaḥ* (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 108, verses 9-10).

[2] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 7, verse 9 : *dharmam=avann=api nityaṁ raṇōdyatō=’nīnaśad=Dharmaṁ.*

[3] *JRAS*, 1894, p. 7 : *yaśō Mudgagirau labdhaṁ yēna Gauḍaiḥ samaṁ raṇē.*

[4] Hiuen-tsang locates the capital of Ku-che-lo (Gurjara) at Pi-lo-mo-lo (Bhillamāla, modern Bhinmāl in the Jodhpur Division), while the *Prabhāvakacharita* mentions Āma-Nāgāvalōka (Nāgabhaṭa II), who died in 833 A.D., as ruling from Kanauj. The Barah plate issued by his grandson from Kanauj only three years later in 836 A.D. seems to support the Jain tradition regarding the transfer of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra capital. It records the grant of a village in the Udumbara-vishaya within the Kālañjara-maṇḍala of the Kānyakubja-bhukti made originally by Maukhari Śarvavarman, but later approved by Nāgabhaṭa II. This fact also points to Nāgabhaṭa's rule over the Kanauj territory. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 174 ff.

[5] *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p. 74 : *utkīlit-Ōtkala-kulaṁ hṛita-Hūṇa-garvaṁ kharvīkṛita-Draviḍa-Gurjara-nātha-darpaṁ.*

[6] Cf. above, Vol. XVIII, p. 109, verse 18 ; cf. ibid., Vol. VII, p. 89, verse 9 (..... *Bhōjadēv-āpta-bhūmiḥ* ..... *śrī-Guṇāmbhōdhi-dēvaḥ*. . . . *āsi-prakaṭa-pṛithu-pathēn=āhṛitā Gauḍa-lakshmīḥ*.)

[7] The Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla was issued from Mudgagiri (Monghyr) in his 17th regnal year and records the grant of a village in Tīrabhukti (Tīrhut) in North Bihar. Another inscription on a brass image of Pārvatī from Bihārsharif is stated to have been dedicated by a resident of Uddaṇḍapura (Bihārsharif) in the 54th regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1618-19.

[8] *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 137 ff.; *N. Ind. Ant.*, Ross Vol., pp. 382 ff.

[9] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25 ; cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.

succeeded in re-establishing their hold on Bihar, and apparently also on Bengal, whereas the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I seem to have been later than 909 A.D.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 [Siddham ||][3] **Sasvat[4] 15 Mārgga-śukla-saptamyāṁ śri-Mahēndhra(ndra)-pāladēva-vī(vi)ja[*]a-rājyē** Vishṇu-

2 [na]ndi-naptā(ptrā) Gaṅganandi-sunū[5] Lōkanandhi(ndi)nā Āditya-bhaṭṭārakaḥ kārita iti [||*] Gana(ṇa)ka-Vī[sa]jara[6]

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[1] Even if the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign is placed a few years later, it has to be remembered that Mahēndrapāla I seems to have been succeeded by his son Bhōja II and that his other son Mahīpāla I was probably the usurper of the throne of Bhōja II. The earliest known date of Mahīpāla I is offered by the Haḍḍālā plate of the 23rd December, 914 A. D. (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1086).

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Read *saṁvat.*

[5] Read *sūnu°* or *sūnunā.*

[6] As suggested above, the reference may be to a *Gaṇaka* whose name may be Visajara=Vishajvara. The concluding *aksharas* of the inscription were probably incised elsewhere about the middle of the pedestal, as suggested above, apparently for shortage of space. The first two of them look like *guṇa* or *guṇē.* For illustrations of the Sūrya image and the inscriptions on its pedestal, see S. C. Mukherjee in *Indian Museum Bulletin,* January, 1967, pp. 44-45 and Plates

MAHISANTOSH IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAPALA, YEAR 15



2 2

Scale : One-half

G. S. Gai.

No. 38—DHANTA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA SOMASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1277

(*1 Plate*)

C. L. SURI, MYSORE

(*Received on 28.2.1966*)

This inscription[1] was discovered at **Dhāntā** in Sirohi Tahsil and District, **Rajasthan**, while I was conducting the epigraphical survey of the said Tahsil. It is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the goddess Mahishāsuramardinī locally called 'Jōgmāyā'. The image which is made of marble stone is broken into two pieces and now stands on a platform near a well called 'Pādarlā' *arahaṭ* in the village along with some other damaged images of deities like Durgā and Gaṇēśa. Some more images of these deities were also found on a small mound near a well called 'Rūpāwālā' *arahaṭ* outside the village where, according to local tradition, a temple existed. It appears that the above-mentioned images were installed in this temple which was probably dedicated to god Śiva. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that a black stone image of Vishṇu was also found in a field near the same village. This appears to indicate that there existed here another temple dedicated to Vishṇu. The inscription is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

It consists of four lines of writing which is in a bad state of preservation. The fourth line has been completely effaced and nothing can be made out except the word *kārāpitā* in the end. Though the third line has also suffered considerable damage, some words can be made out here. No damage has, however, been done to the first two lines which can be fully deciphered. The engraving has been very careless. While some of the letters or parts of letters are boldly incised, others are very shallow. The inscribed area measures 36.5 cm by 7 cm.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and they are regular for the period. It is, however, noteworthy that the medial vowels *ē* and *ō* have been indicated here as well as in a number of inscriptions of the time of Dhārāvarsha only by *śirōmātrās*,[2] while some other inscriptions of about the same period from this region use both *pṛishṭhamātrās* and *śirōmātrās*.[3]

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit written in prose. The orthography does not call for any remarks. The name of the month Māgha is spelt as Māha due to the influence of local dialect.

The inscription is **dated [Vikrama]- Saṁvat 1277, Māgha śudi 2, Monday,** corresponding to **1221 A. D., December 28.** It refers itself to the reign of **Sōmasīha** of Chandrāvatī. Though he is not endowed with any title, there is no doubt that he is identical with the Paramāra king Sōmasiṁha, son of Dhārāvarsha. So far only four inscriptions of this king have been found. Of these three were discovered in Sirohi District and one from Nāṇā in Pali District. His known dates are V. S. 1287, 1290 and 1293.[4] The present inscription, therefore, provides the earliest date for him.

The record begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a passage in lines 1-3 which states that an image, apparently of the goddess Mahishamardinī on the pedestal of which the record is

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1 This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.* 1964-65, Introduction p. 7 and App. B, No. 562.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, Plates I-IV between pp. 50 and 51.

3 Above, Vol. XIII, Plate between pp. 208 and 209, and ibid., Vol. VIII, Plates facing pp. 212 and 222.

4 Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 487, 488, 509 and 525.

engraved, was caused to be made in **Dhāṇatā-grāma** during the victorious reign of **Sōmasīha** ruling at **Chandrāvatī** on the above-mentioned date.

The above-mentioned passage includes the expression *Sīgāradēvī-..kālē pravartamānē*. Though the exact significance of this expression is not clear, it shows that Sīgāradēvī was connected with the work of the creation of the image. We know that Sīgāradēvī or Śṛiṅgāradēvī was the queen of Dhārāvarsha from some records of his time also. An inscription from Ajahāri,[1] dated V. S. 1240 (1183 A. D.) and belonging to the reign of Dhārāvarsha, gives the name of his queen as Sīgāradēvī and mentions her as the chief-queen (*paṭṭa-rāṇī*) and as making a grant along with *Kumāra* Pālhaṇadēva. The Jhāḍōlī inscription[2], dated V. S. 1255 (1198 A. D.) and belonging to the reign of the same king, gives the name of this queen as Śṛiṅgāradēvī. Here she is stated to be the daughter of the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna king Kēlhaṇa and the chief queen of Dhārāvarsha. Sīgāradēvī of the present inscription is evidently identical with Sīgāradēvī or Śṛiṅgāradēvī of the above-mentioned inscriptions. She might have been the mother of Sōmasiṁha, though the inscription under study does not give any information about their relationship.

According to G. H. Ojha, Dhārāvarsha had two queens named Gīgādēvī and Śṛiṅgāradēvī, of whom the former was the chief queen. He adds that both of them were daughters of the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna kiṅg Kēlhaṇadēva.[3] He, however, does not mention any source for this information. D. R. Bhandarkar, while recognising Śṛiṅgāradēvī as the chief queen of Dhārāvarsha, also mentions Gīgādēvī, at one place, as another queen of that king without referring to any source.[4] However, at another place he remarks : "He (i.e. Kēlhaṇa) had one daughter named Śṛiṅgāradēvī who was married to the Paramāra king Dhārāvarsha and another named Lālhaṇadēvī who was married to the Pratīhāra chief Vigraha."[5] As no queen of Dhārāvarsha of the name Gīgādēvī is known, it appears that the name of Gīgādēvī has been given by Bhandarkar on the authority of Ojha whose view seems to have been based on the wrong reading of an inscription from Jhāḍōli[6] noticed by him. Dated V. S. 1243 (1187 A. D.), this inscription[7] belongs to the reign of Kēlhaṇa and mentions the name of the chief queen (*paṭṭamahārāṇī*) of the *Maṇḍalīka* Dhārāvarsha. Ojha reads the name of this queen as *Gīgādēvī* but the correct reading appears to be Śīgādēvī which stands for Śṛiṅgāradēvī. Dhārāvarsha, therefore, had no queen named Gīgādēvī.

The **importance** of this inscription lies in the fact that it provides the earliest date for Sōmasiṁha as stated above. Prior to the discovery of this record, he was believed to have ascended the throne sometime before V. S. 1287 (1230 A.D.),[8] the date of the two Mount Ābū inscriptions of his reign. As the latest known inscription of his father Dhārāvarsha is dated V. S. 1276 (1219 A. D.)[9], it was believed that Prahlādana, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, ruled in the intervening period.[10] The present inscription which is dated V. S. 1277 (1221 A. D.) not only increases the reign period of Sōmasiṁha by about 10 years but also shows that Prahlādana, if he ever ascended the throne, ruled for a very short period, not exceeding a few months. It is even likely that he did not ascend the throne at all, for the Pāṭnārāyaṇ inscription[11] of the

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1 Ibid., No. 399.

2 Ibid. No. 437. For the text of this inscription, see *Prāchīna-Jaina-lēkha-saṁgraha*, pp. 262 f. No. 430.

3 *Rājputānēkā Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 177.

4 Bhandarkar's List, p. 398.

5 Ibid., p. 382, footnote 9.

6 *Sirōhī Rājyakā Itihās*, p. 25. Also cf. Lala Sita Ram, *History of Sir ohi Raj*, p. 32.

7 See *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, No. B 640.

8 *Struggle for Empire*, p. 73.

9 Bhandarkar's List, No. 473.

10 *Struggle for Empire*, p. 73.

11 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 77 ff.

DHANTA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA SOMASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1277



Scale : Seven-fifteenths

G. S. Gai.

end of the 13th century omits his name and describes Sōmasiṁha as successor of Dhārāvarsha. As the Mount Ābū inscription, dated V. S. 1265 (1208 A. D.)[1] describes Prahlādana as the heir-apparent of his brother, it may be assumed that he had predeceased Dhārāvarsha who was probably alive, as will be seen below, at least till V. S. 1278. But, according to a statement made in the *Sōmasaubhāgya*, a work composed in the latter half of the 15th century, Prahlādana was the lord of Arbudāchala.[2] The trustworthiness of this statement may, however, be questioned in view of the late date of the work. Even if it has an element of truth, it may be assumed that Prahlādana was governing the Ābū region on behalf of Dhārāvarsha.

It is believed by many scholars that the Mīlachchhīkāra mentioned in the drama *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha-sūri, one manuscript of which is dated V. S. 1286, is identical with *Sulṭān* Iltutmish (1210-1236 A. D.).[3] The drama describes the defeat of Mīlachchhīkāra or Iltutmish at the hands of Vāghēlā Vīradhavala when the former invaded Gujarat. In this expedition, Iltutmish had to face the combined might of Vīradhavala and the three lords of Marudēśa (i.e. Marwar) whose names are given as Sōmasiṁha, Udayasiṁha and Dhārāvarsha.[4] The date of Iltutmish's invasion of Gujarat has been fixed in V. S. 1278 (1221 A. D.).[5] It will, thus, be seen that Dhārāvarsha was not only alive in V. S. 1278 but also fought against Iltutmish along with his son Sōmasiṁha. The mention of both Dhārāvarsha and Sōmasiṁha as lords of Marudēśa in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* perhaps indicates the joint rule of the father and the son. It is, however surprising to note that our inscription not only does not refer to their joint rule but also does not mention the name of Dhārāvarsha at all. The context where his chief queen Sīgāradēvī figures in our inscription seems to indicate that she was alive. Can this fact be taken as an evidence to prove that Dhārāvarsha was also alive on the date of our inscription ? Even if he was alive, it is certain that he was not on the throne of Chandrāvatī, for according to our inscription, Sōmasiṁha was ruling at that time.

Dhāṇatā-grāma mentioned in the record is evidently the same as Dhāntā where the inscription was found.

TEXT[6]

1 [Siddham][7] [|| *] **[Saṁ]vatu(t) 1277 Var[shē] Māha[8]-sudi 9 Sō[mē]** śrī-Chaṁdrāvatyām||[9]

2 **śrī-S[ō]mas[ī]ha**-vijaya-rājyē **Dhā[ṇa]tā-grām[ē]** śrī-S[ī]gāradēvi-

3 . .[10] kalē prava[rta]mā[nē] [dēvī Sā[11]. . . . . .] [kā]rāpitā [|*] [Pa]li. . ku

4 la. . . . .[12] kārāpitā ||

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1 Bhandarkar's List, No. 454.

2 D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 317.

3 Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 152, note 32 ; D. C. Ganguly, op. cit., p. 316. But, according to A. K. Majumdar, this identification is untenable (cf. *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 159).

4 *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, Aṅka II, verse 8.

5 Dasharatha Sharma, op. cit., p. 152 and note 34. D. C. Ganguly's view that Iltutmish invaded Marwar in 1227 A. D. does not appear to be correct.

6 From inked impressions.

7 Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

8 Read *Māgha*.

9 The two vertical strokes here are superfluous.

10 I am unable to give a satisfactory reading of these two *aksharas*.

11 The reading of the *aksharas* is uncertain.

12 Although traces of letters can be seen here, these are too faint and uneven to yield any satisfactory reading.

No. 39—NILMANGALA GRANT OF VENKATA (II), SAKA 1554

(*2 Plates*)

S. R. Rao and B. Dutta, New Delhi

(*Received on 29.12.1965*)

The set of copper-plates, edited below, was brought to the notice of Shri S. R. Rao by Sri G. T. Manicka Nayagar, Madras. According to Mr. Nayagar, this set is owned hereditarily by his family. On examination the set proved to be a new discovery and it is being edited for the first time. We are grateful to Mr. Nayagar for giving us the record for study.

The set contains five copper plates each measuring 17.5 cm in height from bottom to the tip of the rounded top of the handle-like part, and about 12.7 cm in breadth. The ring-hole is about 1.2 cm in diameter. The plates are strung together by a ring which bears a seal containing the figure of a boar facing left, the legend *Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśa* and the figures of the sun and the moon. The first and the last plates bear writing only on the inner side, whereas the remaining three plates are engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 148 lines of writing, distributed as follows: The first side of the third plate contains 18 lines, the second side of the fourth plate 20 lines, the fifth plate 15 lines and the remaining sides 19 lines on each. The plates are numbered serially with the Telugu numerals 1 to 5. They have raised rims and as such the writing is in a good state of preservation. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 2280 g.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nandi-Nāgarī. In respect of **palaeography** and **orthography**, this charter resembles the already known charters of the king who issued the present charter.[1] The text of the record is composed entirely in Sanskrit verse with the exception of *Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśāya namaḥ* in the beginning, and *Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa*, in Kannaḍa characters, at the end.

The record refers itself to the reign of **Peda-Vēṅkaṭa II**, the elder son of Śrīraṅgarāya IV and is **dated Śaka 1554** (expressed by the chronogram *Vēda-bāṇa-kalamba-iṁdu*), **Śrīmukha Kârtika śu. 15, lunar eclipse.** The cyclic year for Śaka 1554 was Āṅgirasa and not Śrīmukha.[2] The other details given here, however, are regular for the Śaka year and they correspond to **Wednesday, the 17th October, 1632 A. D.**

The charter contains in verses 1-28 a detailed genealogical account of the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara and a description of the ruling king Vēṅkaṭa II (verses 29-37). These verses are identical with those found in the other copper-plate charters[3] of the king and do not add anything new to our knowledge of the history of the dynasty.

The formal portion of the grant records the details of the date (verses 38-39), already discussed, and the gift made by the king. It is said that the gift was made in the presence of god Vēṅkaṭēśa which is invariably the case with all the other copper-plate charters of the family. The donee was the (Brāhmaṇa) Nāgaṁbhaṭṭa, who was the son of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa and grandson of Udayagiryalu-bhaṭṭa. He is stated to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āpastaṁba-sūtra and

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[1] Above, Vol. III, pp. 236 ff., etc.

[2] See, *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. A 28.

[3] E. g. the Kūniyūr plates (above, Vol. III, pp. 246 ff.) and the Koṇḍyāta plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128 ff.).

Yajuś-śākhā and to be a resident of the famous Jayaṁgoṇḍa-Toṇḍamaṇḍala (verses 40-42). The gift consisted of the village **Nīlmaṅgala** also called **Rāghavaśrīpura** and its hamlet Kuttanūr-Maṇambākkam (verse 53). It was included in Reṇḍāyira-velippattu[1] and was famous in the (division) Chaṅgāḍikōṭṭaṁ of Kōnādinādu, in Paḍavīḍu-mahārājya and it was situated to the east of Varatturu, to the south of Paḍapa-grāma, to the west of Māḍaṁbākam[2] and to the north of Kūttanūru (verses 42-48).

The composer of the charter was Rāmakavi, son of Kāmakōṭi and grandson of Sabhāpati and the writer was Achyutārya, son of Gaṇapārya and grandson of Vīraṇāchārya (verses 49-51). These persons are already known from several charters of the rulers of this dynasty. Then there is an imprecatory verse (verse 52) followed by a reference to Kuttanūr-Māṇambākam as a hamlet of the gift village (verse 53). The charter ends with the colophon *Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśa* engraved in bold Kannaḍa characters.

The **importance** of this inscription lies in the fact that it is one of the few copper-plate records belonging to the early independent rule[3] of king Vēṅkaṭa II who ascended the throne in 1630 A. D. It may be pointed out that there are charters issued by him earlier when he was a prince.[4]

Of the **geographical** places occurring in the charter **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Toṇḍamaṇḍala** is the well-known ancient territorial division identical roughly with the territory comprising the modern districts of Chingleput and North Arcot ; **Chaṅgalipaṭu** is evidently identical with the modern Chingleput, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Madras ; **Nīlmaṅgalam** may be identified with Nīlamaṅgalam (12°30'N., 80°.00'E.) situated to the north-east of Orattur which is obviously identical with **Varatturu** of the record ; **Māṇambākam** may be the same as Māḍambākkam situated to the east of Nīlamaṅgalam ; and **Paḍapa-grāma** may be identified with Kīḻappaḍappai situated to the north of Nīlamaṅgalam. **Kūttanūr** and the remaining places cannot be identified.

TEXT[5]

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 3, 23, 27, 38-48, 52 and 53 *Ślōka* ; verses 4, 6, 26, 31, 34 and 37 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 5 *Sragdharā ;* verses 7 and 35 *Rathōddhatā* ; verses 8, 13, 20 and 25 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 9, 14 and 33 *Pṛithvī* ; verses 10 and 18 *Śikhariṇī* ; verse 11 *Śailaśikhā ;* verses 12, 21, 22, 28 and 29 *Indravajrā* ; verse 15 *Mālinī* ; verse 16 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 17, 19, 32 and 51 *Upajāti* ; verses 24 and 50 (?) *Āryā* ; verse 30 *Mañjubhāshiṇī* ; verses 36 (half) and 49 *Gīti*].

First Plate

1 श्रीवेंकटेशाय नमः। यस्य संपर्कपुण्येन ना-

2 रीरत्नमभूच्चि(च्छि)ला। यदुपास्यं सुमनसां तद्वस्तुद्वंद्व-

3 माश्रये ।[।१*] यस्य द्विरदवक्त्राद्याः पारिषद्याः परशतं(श्शतम्)।

4 विघ्नन्निघ्नंति भजतां विष्वकसे(क्से)नं तमाश्रये ।[।२*] जय-

1 Read °*vēlippaṟṟu*.

2 Read *Māḍaṁbākkam*.

3 Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. A 28.

4 See e.g., *A. R. Ep.*, 1933-34, No. A 4, dated Śaka 1546, about 8 years earlier than the present one.

5 From photographs and the original plates.

5 ति श्रीरजलधेर्जातं स[व्ये]क्षणं हरेः। आलंबनं

6 चकोरगण(णा)मम्रायुष्करं महः ।[।३*] पौत्रस्तस्य पुरु(रू)-

7 रपा(वा) बुधसुतस्तस्यायुरस्यात्मज[ः*] ।[1] संजज्ञे नहुषो

8 ययातिरभवत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः। तद्वंसे(शे) भ[र*]तो

9 बभूव नृपतिस्तत्संततौ शंतनुः।[1] तत्तुरो(र्यो) विजयो-

10 भिमन्युरुदभूत्तस्माप्त(त्प)रीक्षित्ततः ।[।४*] नंदस्तस्याष्ट-

11 मोभूत्समजनि नवमस्तस्य राज्ञच्च(श्च)लिक्कक्ष्माप-

12 स्तत्स[प्त*]म[ः*] श्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेन्द्रः।

13 तस्यासीद्बिज्जलेंद्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेंमालि-

14 रायस्तार्तीई(यी)को मुरारौ कृतनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मा-

15 यापुरीशः ।[।५*] तत्तुर्योजनि तातपिन्नममहीपालो

16 निजालोकनत्रस्तामित्रगणस्ततोजनि हर-

17 न् दुर्गाणि सप्ताहितात्। अन्है(ह्लै)केन स सोमिदे-

18 वनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञे सुतो वीरो राघवदेव-

19 राडिति त[तः*] श्रीपिनमोभूनृ(न्नृ)पः ।[।६*] आरवी-

Second Plate; First Side

20 टिनगरीविभोरबू(भू)दस्य बुक्कधरणीप-

21 तिस्सुतः। यन सालुवनृशिह्म(सिंह)राज्यमप्येध-

22 मानमहसा स्थिराकृतं(तम्) ।[।७*] स्वःकामिना[ः*] स्वतनु

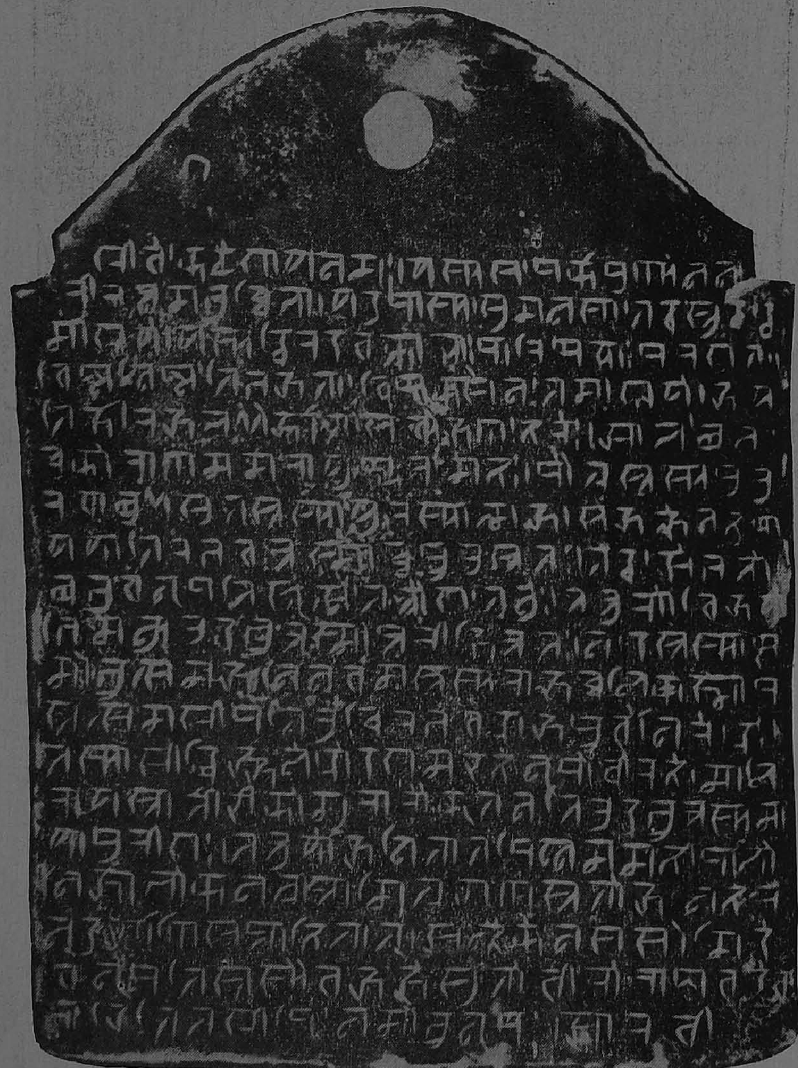
23 कांतिभिराक्षिपंतीं बुक्कावनीपतिलको बुध-

24 कल्पशाखी। कल्याणिनीं कमलनाभ इवाब्धि-

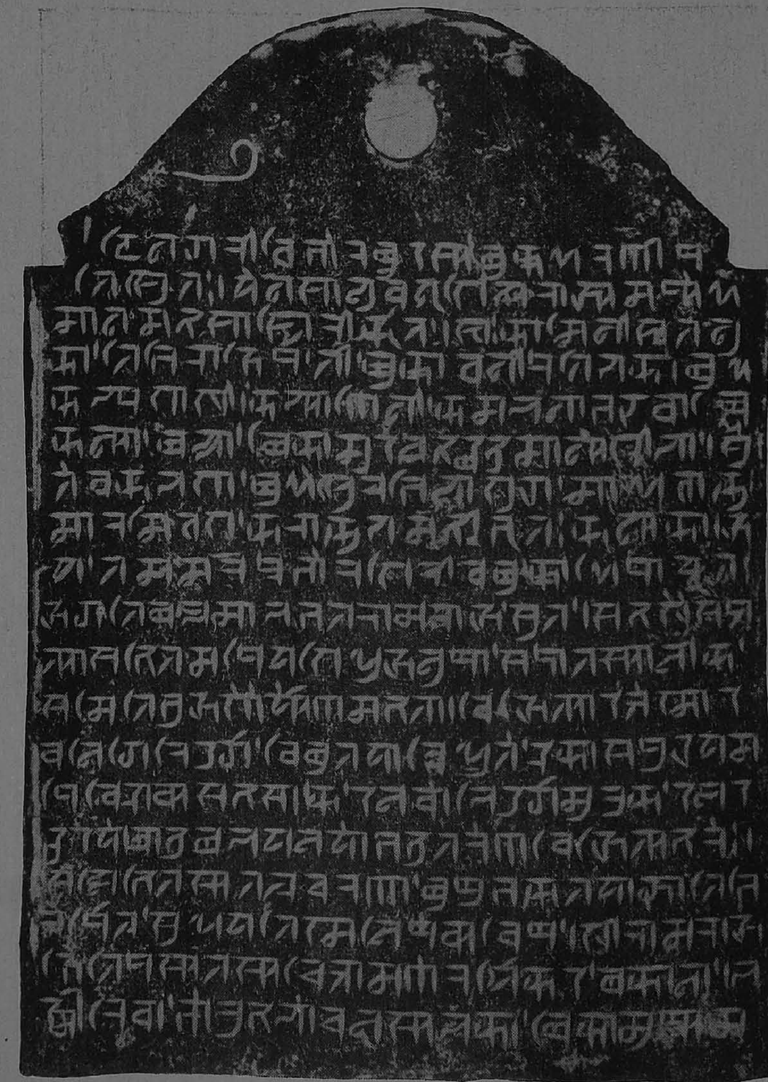
[1] This *danda* is unnecessary.

NILMANGALA GRANT OF VENKATA (II), SAKA 1554 — PLATE I

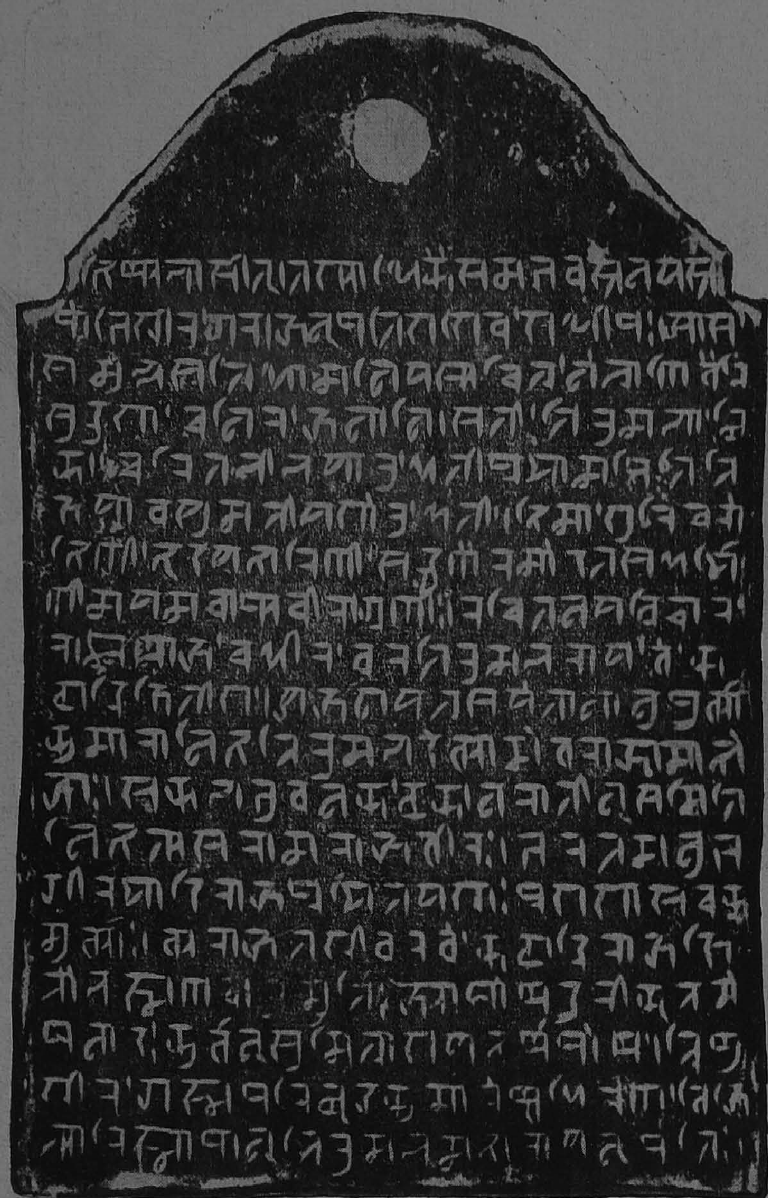
i



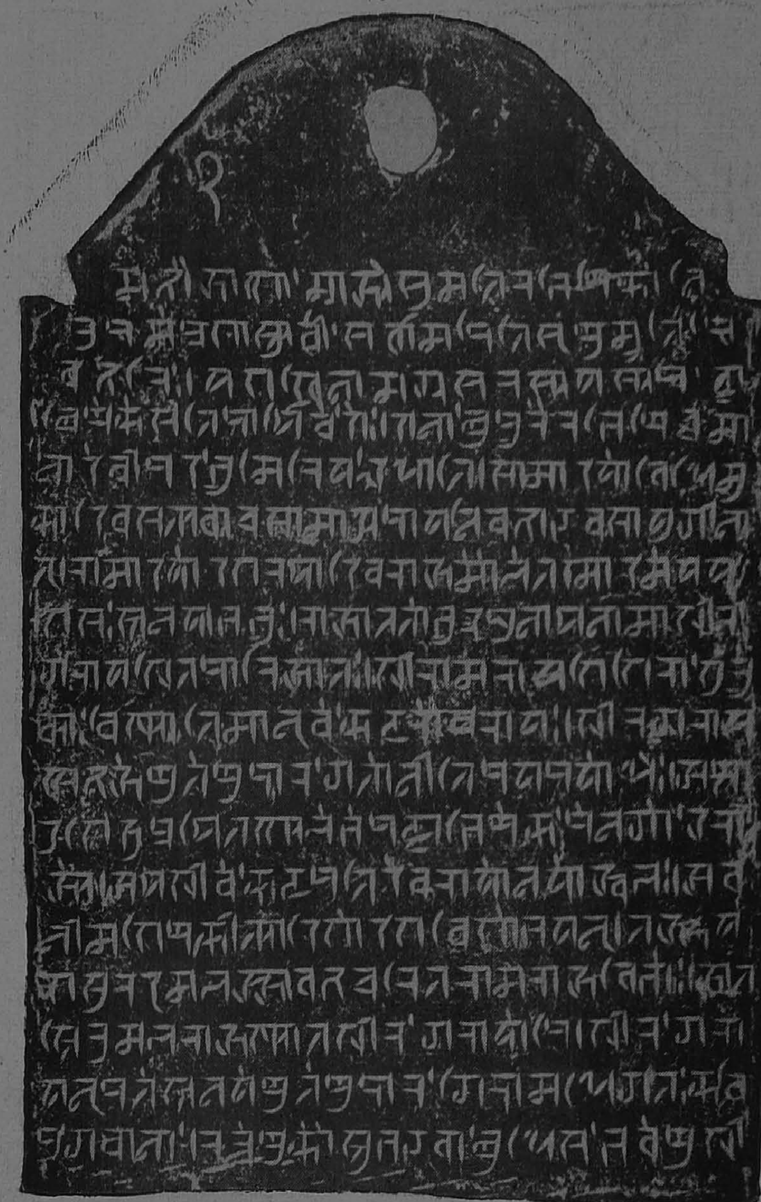
ii, a



ii, b



iii, a



Scale : Two-thirds

25 कन्यां बल्लांबिकामुदवहद्बहुमान्यशीलां(लाम्) ।[।८*] सु-

26 तेव कलशांबुधेस्सुरभिलाशुगं माधवात्कु-

27 मारमिव शंकरात्कुलमहीभृतः कन्यका । ज-

28 यंतममरप्रभोर[पि*] शि(श)चीव बुक्काधिपाच्छृ(च्छ्रु)तं

29 जगति बल्लमालभत रामराजं सुतं(तम्) ।[।९*] सहस्रै[ः*] सप्त-

30 त्या सहितमपि य[ः*] शि(सिं)धुजनुषां सपात(द)स्यानीकं

31 समिति भुजशौर्य्येण महता । विजित्यादत्तेश्मा(स्मा)द-

32 वनिगिरिदुर्ग विबु(भु)तया विधूतेंद्र[ः*] कासपु(प्प)डयम-

33 पि विद्राव्य सहसा ।[।१०*] कंदनवोलिदुर्गमुरुकंदलद-

34 द्रु(भ्यु)दयो बाहुबलयन[1] यो भ(ब)हुतरेण विजित्य हरेः ।

35 सन्निहितस्य तत्र चरणांबुषु भक्ततया ज्ञातिभि-

36 रर्पितं सुधयति श्म(स्म) निषेव्य विषं(षम्) ।[।११*] श्रीरामराज-

37 क्षितिपस्य तस्य चिन्तामणेरर्थिकदंबकानां(नाम्) । ल-

38 क्ष्मीरिवांभोरुहलोचनस्य लकां(क्कां)बिकामुष्य म-

Second Plate ; Second Side

39 हिष्यलासीत् ।[।१२*] तस्याधिकै[ः*] समभवस्त(त्त)नयस्त-

40 पोभि[ः*] श्रीरंगराजनृपति[ः*] शशिवंशधी(दी)पः । आसं(सन्)

41 समुल्लसति धामनि यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वैरि-

42 सुद्रु(दृ)शां च निरंजनानि ।[। १३*] सतीं तिरुमलांबि-

43 कां चरितलीलयारुंधतीप्रथामपि तिति-

44 क्षया वसुमतीयशो रुंधतीं(तीम्) । हिमांशुरिव यो

[1] Read बाहुबलेन.

45 हिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्गुणैरमोदत सधर्मि-

46 णीमयमवाप्य वीराग्रणीः ।[।१४*] रचितनयविचारं

47 रामराजं च धीरं वरतिरुमलरायं वेंक-

48 टाद्रिक्षितीशं(शम्) । अजनयत स ये(ए)तानानुपूर्व्या

49 कुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्यामेव राजा महो(हौ)-

50 जाः ।[।१५*] सकलभुवनकंटकानरातीन् समिति

51 निहत्य स रामराजधीरः । भरतमनुभ-

52 गीरथादिराजप्रथितयशाः प्रशशास चक्र-

53 मुर्व्याः ।[।१६*] व्यराजत श्रीवरवेंकटाद्रिराज[:*] क्षि-

54 तौ लक्ष्मणचारुमूर्तिः[।*] ज्याघोषदूरीकृतमे-

55 घनादः कुर्वन् सुमित्राशयहर्षपोषं(षम्)।[।१७*] त्रिषु

56 श्रीरंगक्ष्मापरिबृड(वृढ)कुमारेष्वधिरणं विजि-

57 त्यारिक्ष्मापान्ति(पांस्ति)रुमलमहारायनृपतिः ।

Third Plate ; First Side

58 महौजाश्शां(स्सां)म्राज्ये सुमतिरभिषिको(क्तो) नि-

59 रुपमे प्रशास्त्युर्वी सर्वामपि तिसृषु मूर्तिष्वि-

60 व हरिः ।[।१८*] यशश्वि(स्वि)नामग्रसरस्य यस्य पट्टा-

61 बिसेंके[1] सति पार्थिवेंदोः । दानांबुपूरैरभिषिच्यमा-

62 ना देवीपदं भूमिरियं द्व(द)धाति ।[।१९*] सामादयो विधिमु-

63 का(खा)दिव सत्यवाच[:*] सामाद्युपायनिवहा इव सा(सां)युगीना-

64 त् । रामादयो दशरथादिव राजमौलेत(लेस्त)श्मा(स्मा)दमेयय-

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[1] Read पट्टाभिषेके .

65 शसः स्तनया भभुः[1] ।[।२०*] राजा ततोभूद्रघुनाथनामा श्रीरं-
66 गराय[:*] श्रितपारिजातः । श्रीरामराय[:*] शिशिरांशुरू(रु)-
67 र्व्याः[2] विख्यातिमान् वेंकट[दे]वरायः ।[।२१*] श्रीर(रं)गराय-
68 स्सहजेषु तेषु पारं गतो नीतिपय[:*]पयोधेः । अष्टा-
69 दुशिक्षु[3] प्रथितश्श्य(स्स) लेभे पट्टाभिषेकं पेनगोंडरा-
70 ज्ये ।[।२२*] अथ श्रीवेंकटपतिदेवरायो नयोज्व(ज्ज्व)लः । अव-
71 नीमशिषत्कीत्या(र्त्या) दिशो दश विशोभयन् ।[।२३*] तज्ज्य(ज्ज्या) य-
72 श(सः) सुरदृ(द्रु)मलज्जावहचरितरामराजविभोः । जात-
73 स्तिरुमलराज[:*] ख्यात[:*] श्रीरंगरायोपि ।[।२४*] श्रीरंगरा-
74 यनृपतेस्तनयेषु तेषु पारं गिरामधिगतः कवि-
75 पुंगवानां(नाम्) । रत्नेषु कौस्तुभ इवांबुधिसंभवेषु श्री-

Third Plate ; Second Side

76 रामरायनृपतिश्शु(स्सु)चिरं व्यलासीत् ।[।२५*] पूर्वं
77 विश्रृ(श्रु)तरामराजनृपतेः श्रीरामभद्राकृतेः
78 कल्याणोदयशालिनस्तनुभवा[:*] पंच प्रप्रं(पं)चा-
79 वने [।*] दक्षा नीतिपथानुगास्समभवन् क्षीरापगा-
80 कामिनो ।[4] गीर्वाणालयभूरुहा इव बुधश्रेणीष्ट-
81 दानोत्सुकाः ।[।२६*] आज्ञाविजितसुग्रीवाः प्राज्ञावन-
82 कृताग्रहाः । सर्वे ते विबुधग्राह्याः[2] गुणै रुचिर-
83 विग्रहाः [।२७*] विख्यातचर्येषु नृपेषु तेषु ।[4] श्रीरं-

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[1] Read °**यशसस्तनया बभूवुः** .

[2] The *visarga* is unnecessary.

[3] Read **अष्टासु दिक्षु** .

[4] This *danda* is unnecessary.

84 गराज[ः*] शिशिरांशुरुर्व्याः । विश्वत्रये विशृ(श्रु)त-

85 कीर्तिरासीत् शौ(सौ)रेषु शालेष्विव पारिजातः ।[।२८*]

86 श्रीरंगराजस्य तपोविशेषैस्संतोष(षि)ष[ः*] शेष-

87 गिरीश्वरश्य(स्य) । कारुं(रु)ण्यभूम्ना कमर्नय्य[1] शो

88 भौ पुत्रावभूतां पुरुहूतभोगौ ।[।२९*] पेदवेंकटेंद्र-

89 पिनवेंकटाधिराडिति नामकौ प्रकृति-

90 पालनोत्सुकौ । खरदूषणप्रहतिदक्षिणाबु(वु)-

91 भौ ददतः प्रमोदमिव रामलक्ष्मणौ ।[।३०*] श्रीशाली

92 पेदवेंकटेंद्रनृपतिर्जैष्टो[2] वयोभिस्तयोः ।[3] शौर्यौ-

93 दार्यगभीरथा(ता)धृतिकलापूर्वै श्च सर्वै र्गुणैः ।

94 यस्याराातिनृपालभेदनकलायात्रासु सेनार-

Fourth Plate ; First Side

95 जः।[3]पूरैर्भूर्जलधिर्भवेदिति हरिश्चित्ते श्च(च)

96 धत्ते स्थितिं(तिम्)।[।३१*] श्रीरंगराजेंद्रकुमारकेस्मिन् वी-

97 रोत्तमे वेंकटदेव[4]राये । पट्टाभिषिक्ते पेनुगोंडरा-

98 ज्ये तदाभिषिक्ताः सुधियोपि हेम्ना ।[। ३२*] यथा रघुकुलो-

99 द्वह[ः*] स्वा(स्व)यमरुंधतीजानिना स्वगोत्रगुरुणा सु[धी]-

100 तिलकतातयार्येण यः । यथाविधि यशश्वि(स्वि)ना विरि(र)-

101 चिताभिषेकक्षणाद्विभिंद्य यवनाश(सु)रान्विजयते प्र-

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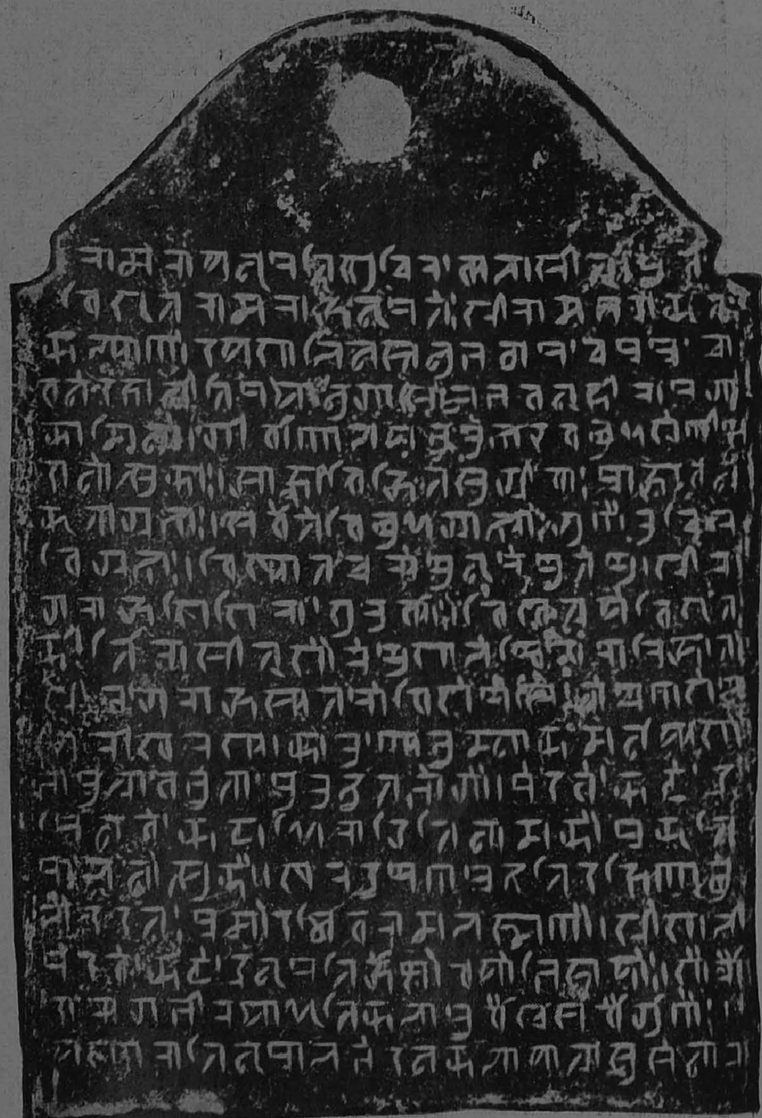
[1] Read कमनीय° .

[2] Read °ज्यॆष्ठो .

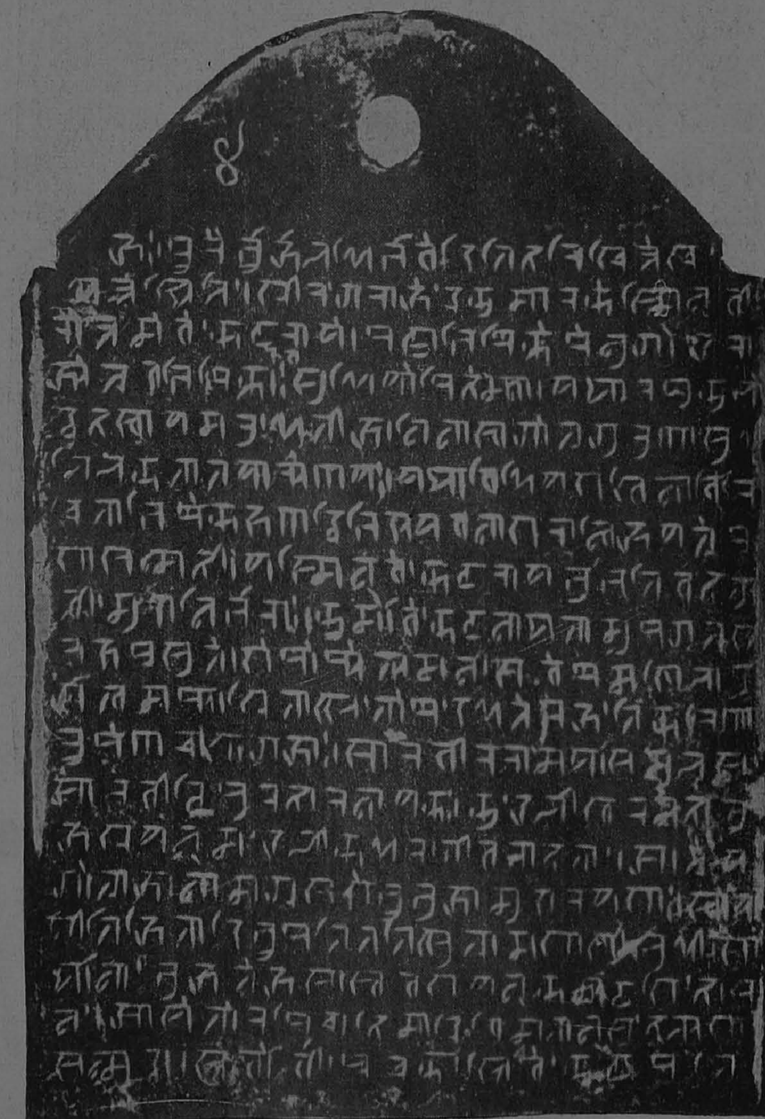
[3] This *danda* is unnecessary.

[4] देव is written below the line.

iii, b

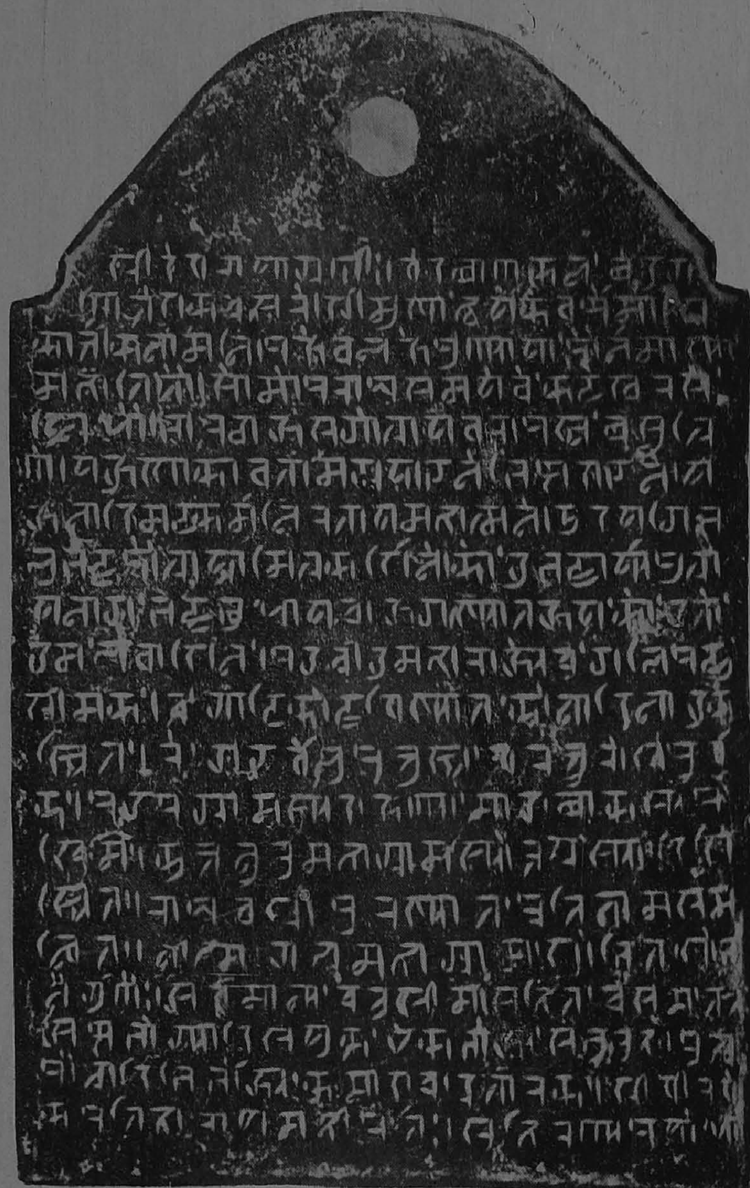


iv, a

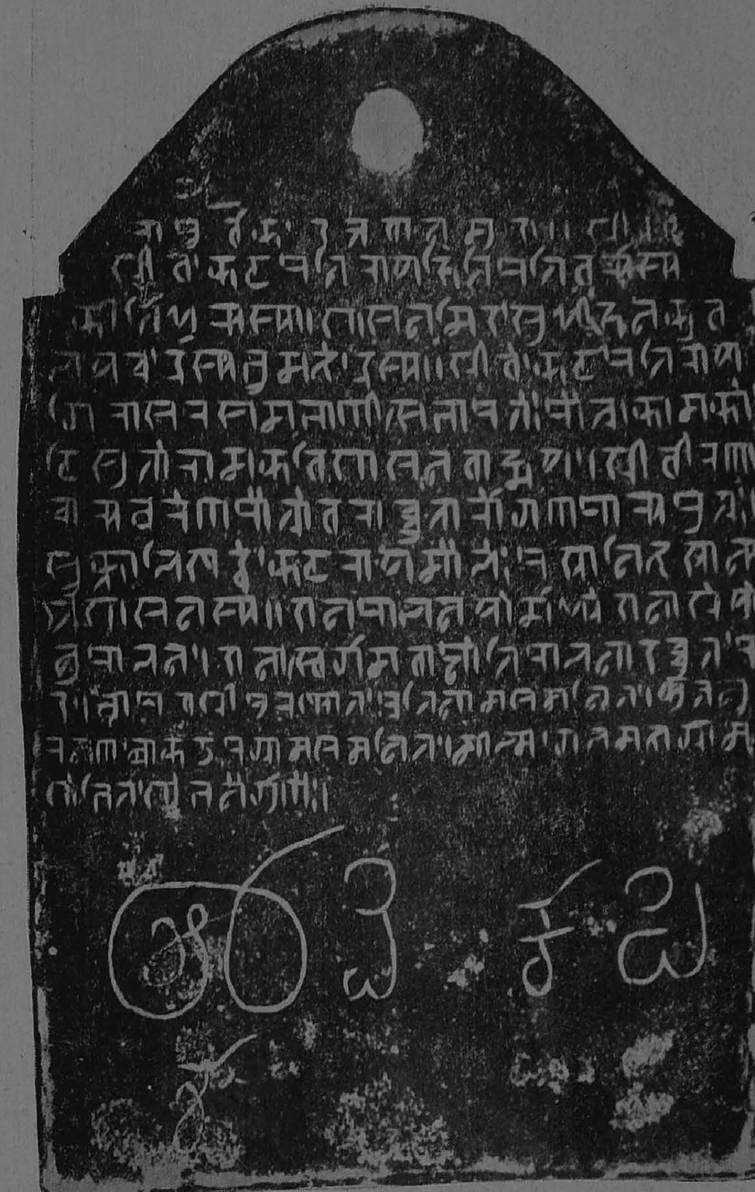


G. S. Gai.

iv, b



v



Scale : Two-thirds

102 शासन्महीं(हीम्) ।[।३३*] यस्मिन् वेंकटरायभूभृति वहत्यु-

103 वीं(वीं) मुदा निर्भरा: ।[1] कूर्मो वेंकटनाथतामुपगतस्त-

104 द्रक्ष[णे*] प्रसु(स्तु)ते । शेषोप्येत्य मनीस[2]वेषमखिला क्ष्मु-

105 गंत्वमप्याश्रितास्संतोषं दधते भजंति करिणां

106 रूपेण चाशागजा: ।।[३४*] सारवीररा(र)मया समुल्लस-

107 आर[3]वीटिपुरहारनायक: । कुंडलीश्वरमहाभु-

108 ज[:*] श्रयन् मंडलीकधरणीवराहतां(ताम्) । [।३५*] आत्रेय-

109 गोत्रा(त्र)जानामग्रसरो भूभुजामुदारयशा: । ।[4][।३६*] स्वो(सो)यं

110 णी(नी)तिजितादिभूपतिततिस्सुत्रामशाखी सुधी ।[1] सा-

111 र्थानां भुजतेजसा स्ववशयन् क[र्ना]टशिं(सिं)हास-

112 नं(नम्) । आ सेतोरपि चा हिमाद्रि विमतान् संहृत्य शा-

113 सन्मुदा ।[1] सर्वोर्वीं प्रचकास्ति वेंकटपति-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side

114 श्रीदेवरायाग्रणी: ।[।३७*] वेदबाणकलंबे(बें)दुग-

115 णिते शकवत्सरे । श्रीमुखां(खा)ह्वयके वर्षे मासि

116 कात्ती(र्त्ति)कनामनि ।[।३८*] पक्षे वलक्षे पुण्यायां पौर्न(र्ण)माश्यां(स्यां)

117 महातिथौ । सोमोपराघ(ग)समये वेंकटेश्वरसं(स)-

118 न्निधौ ।[।३९*] भारद्वाजसगोत्राय वराप[स्तं]बसूत्रि-

119 णे । यजुश्शाका(खा)वतामग्रयाइ(यि)नेभि(भी)ष्टदाइ(यि)ने ।[।४०*] य-

1 This *danda* is unnecessary.

2 Read मनुष्य° .

3 Read समुल्लसन्नार° .

4 The second half of this verse has been omitted. Cf. Kondyāta plates which read—

अतिबिरुदतुरगघट्टो मतिगुरुरारट्टमगधमान्यपद: ।

120 जनादिम(ष)ट्कर्मनिरताय महात्मने। उदयगिर(र्य)-

121 लुभट्टपौत्रायामित्रकर्शिने ।[।४१*] कोंडभट्टार्य्यपुत्रा-

122 य नागंभट्टबुधाय च। जगत्ख्यातजयंकोंडतों-

123 डमं[ड*]लवाशि(सि)नं(नम्)।[।४२*] पडवीडुमहाराज्ये चंगलिप[ट्टु]-

124 सीमकं(कम्)। चंगाटिकोट्टविख्यातं कोनादिनाडुके

125 स्थितं(तम्)।[।४३*] रेंडाइर्वेलुपत्तुस्थं वरस्तुरोश्च पूर्व-

126 कं(कम्)। पडपग्रामस्य दक्षिणं माडंबाकस्य प-

127 श्चिमं(मम्) ।[।४४*] कुत्तनूरुमहाग्रामस्योत्तय(र)स्यां दिशि

128 स्थितं(तम्)। राघवश्रीपुरख्यातं(त)प्रतिनामसम-

129 न्वितं(तम्)।[।४५*] नीलमंगलमहाग्रामं शोभितं शोभ-

130 नैर्गुणैः। सर्वमान्यं चतुस्सीमासहितं च समंततः ।[।४६*]

131 [अ]ष्टभोग्यादिस(सं)युक्तं ऐकभोज्यं सभूरुहं(हम्)। पुत्र-

132 पौत्रादिभिर्भोज्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं(कम्) ।[।४७*] श्रीवीरवें-

133 क[ट*]पति[म*]हारायमहीपतिः। सहिरण्यपयोधा-

Fifth Plate

134 रापूर्वकं दत्तवान् मुदा ।।[४८*] श्री ।।

135 श्रीवेंकटपतिरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य

136 कीर्तिधुर्यस्य ।।(।) शासनमिदं सुधीजनकुव-

137 लयचंद्रस्य भूमहेंद्रस्य।।[४९*] श्रीवेंकटपतिराय-

138 गिरा सरसमभाणीत्सभापतेः पौत्र[ः*]। कामको-

139 टिसुतो रामकवि[ः*] शासनवाङ्मयं(यम्)।[।५०*] श्रीवीरणा-

140 चार्यवरेण(ण्य)पौत्रो वराच्चु(च्यु)तार्यो गणपार्यपुत्रः

141 सूक्ता(क्त्या) लिखद्वेंकटरायमौले: पद्यानि हृद्यान्य-

142 थ शासनस्य ॥[५१*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाश्रे(च्छ्रे)यो-

143 नुपालनं(नम्) । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्चु(च्यु)तं प-

144 दं(दम्)।[।५२*] राघवश्रीपुरख्यातं(त)प्रतिनामसमन्वितं(तम्) । कृत्तन-

145 रमणंबाक उपग्रामसमनि(न्वि)तं(तम्) । नील्मंगलमहाग्राम[म्*]

146 शोभितं शोभनैर्गुणै: ।[।५३*]

147 श्रीवेंकटे-[1]

148 श[2]

[1] In Kannaḍa characters.

No. 40—JODHPUR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA VISALA, VIKRAMA 1174

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Mysore

(*Received on 24-7-1965*)

The slab containing the inscription edited below was originally fixed in the inner side of the northern wall of the building called Topkhana at Jalore, the headquarters of the District of the same name in the Jodhpur division of Rajasthan State. Finding it fixed in the wall upside down, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu removed it to the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur about the beginning of the year 1933 where it is now preserved. The same scholar has also published the record, without facsimile, with a brief introduction in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII (1933), p. 41. As the inscription deserves to be properly edited, it is published here from the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.[1]

The epigraph is engraved on a thick white stone slab measuring 2′ 3.5″ by 1′ 10″. The right end of the slab has suffered slight damage resulting in the loss of a couple of letters in lines 3, 4, 5 and 7. The record contains 14 lines out of which 13 lines are fairly well preserved and there are traces of some letters in line 14. This last line might have contained the name of the writer of the inscription, as the preserved portion is complete with the date portion.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. Both *śirō-mātrās* and *pṛishṭha-mātrās* have been used to indicate the medial *ē*, *ō*, *ai* and *au* (cf. lines 1, 2, 4, 6, etc.). Initial *ā* is met with in line 3 and final *t* in [*Saṁ*]*vat*, line 13. The figures for 1, 4, 5 and 7 are found in line 13. The **language** is Sanskrit and, except the two lines (lines 13-14) giving the date of the record, the entire text is in verse. In respect of **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is generally doubled. *S* is written for *ś* in *Visvāmitra*, line 1, *kalasam*, line 12, and *sudi*, line 13.

The record is dated **Saṁvat,** i.e., Vikrama Saṁvat, **1174, Āshāḍha śu. 5, Bhaumavāra** (line 13). This date regularly corresponds to **25th June 1118 A.D.,** whether the Vikrama year pas *Śrāvaṇādi* or *Kārttikādi*.

The inscription commences with a symbol for *Siddham* followed by a verse (verse 1) which refers to the mythical origin of the Paramāra dynasty from the fire pit, usually found in the inscriptions of the dynasty. It is stated that Paramāra was caused to be born in a pit by the angry sage Vasishṭha in order to conquer Viśvāmitra (who had carried away the former's cow)

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[1] The record has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1956-57, No. B 487. It was first noticed by D.R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Reports, Arch. Surv. Ind., West. Circle*, 1908-09, p. 54. See also Bhandarkar's List, No. 194.

and destroy the enemy (*para-māraṇāya*). Verse 2 introduces 5 kings of this Paramāra family. First, there was **Vākpati**—his son, **Chandana**—his son, **Dēvarāja**—his son, **Aparājita** whose son was **Vijjala.** Verse 3 mentions **Dhārāvarsha** who seems to be the son of Vijjala, though this relationship is not specifically stated in the record.[1] Dhārāvarsha's son **Vīsala** is introduced in verse 4 as the reigning king. The last verse (verse 5) states that Vīsala's queen **Malaradēvī** made a golden cupola for the temple of Sindhurājēśvara. This is followed in line 13 by the date portion which has been discussed above.

The record thus introduces seven kings of the Paramāra dynasty starting with Vākpati and ending with the ruling king Vīsala. No historical event is mentioned with regard to any of them. However, the **importance** of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a hitherto unknown branch of the Paramāra family. Except Vākpati, the other six rulers are not known from any other branch of this family. Since Vīsala is known to have been ruling in 1118 A.D., his sixth ancestor Vākpati may be placed in *circa* 970 A.D. according to the general convention of 25 years' rule for a generation.[2]

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the identification of Vākpati, the founder of this Jalore branch of Paramāras. G.H. Ojha and B.N. Reu think that he probably belonged to the Abu branch of the Paramāras and that he might be connected with Dharaṇīvarāha of that family.[3] On the other hand, D.R. Bhandarkar,[4] D.C. Ganguly[5] and H.C. Ray[6] are inclined to think that Vākpatirāja of this inscription should be identified with Vākpati II-Muñja of the main Paramāra family of Mālwā or Ujjain and Dhārā. B.N. Reu says that Vākpati II-Muñja had no male issue and adopted his nephew Bhōja whereas Vākpatirāja of the inscription under study is stated to have a son called Chandana.[7] There is no evidence to show that Bhōja was adopted as a son by Vākpati II of the main line although it is known that the latter was succeeded on the throne of Mālwā by his younger brother Sindhurāja who in turn was succeeded by his son Bhōja. It is well-known that Vākpati II-Muñja died under tragic circumstances when he was taken as a captive in the territory of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa during the reign of Taila II. It is not unlikely that this Muñja had a son called Chandana who was appointed as a

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[1] Bhandarkar and Reu also take Dhārāvarsha as the son of Vijjala. It is also possible that Dhārāvarsha was another name of Vijjala.

[2] B.N. Reu (*loc. cit.*) has inadvertently stated that the time of this Vākpatirāja would be V.S. 1150 or 1093 A.D.

[3] G.H. Ojha, *History of Rājputānā* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 182 ; B.N. Reu, *op. cit.*

[4] *List*, No. 194, note 2; cf. also p. 398 and note 1.

[5] *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 64 ; cf. also *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 96 ; *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 73.

[6] *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, pp. 924-25.

[7] We learn from Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that Vākpati-Muñja had sons. The Vasantgaḍh inscription of Paramāra Pūrṇapāla of Abu branch, dated Vikrama 1099, states that Vākpati-Muñja had a son called Araṇyarāja. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 10 ff., see also *Bhōjacharita*, ed. by Chhabra and Sankaranarayanan, Introd. p. XIII, f.

governor in the Jalore region. And the family of this Chandana is known only from the inscription under study. It is apparently after this Chandana that the *vihāra* called Chandana-vihāra and Mahārāja-śrī-Chandana-vihāra in some of the inscriptions of the Chāhamāna ruler Chāchigadēva is named.[1] The temple of Sindhurājēśvara mentioned in the record might have been named after Sindhurāja, the younger brother of Muñja, and situated at Jalore, the findspot of the inscription. Malaradēvī, the queen of Vīsala, is known for the first time from this record.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: Verses 1, 3 *Āryā*; Verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verses 4-5 *Anushṭubh*].

1 Siddham[3] [| *] Jētuṁ Visvā(śvā)mitraṁ Vaśi(si)shṭa(shṭha)-munin=āti-kōpa-pūrṇṇēna [|*]

2 paramāraṇāya janita[ḥ*] kuṇḍē tēn=aiva Paramāra[ḥ || 1*]

3 Āsīd=**Vākpatirāja**[4]-nāma-nṛipatiḥ śrī-Pāramār-ā[⏑-[5]]

4 tat-putrō=jani **Chandan**-āvanipatiḥ tan-[n]andanō **Dēva**-[6][|*]

5 tat-putras=tv=Aparājita[ḥ*] samabhavat=prauḍha-pratāpa[ḥ*] su-[7]

6 putrō=bhūd=**Aparājitasya** vijayī śrī-**Vi**[8]**jjalō** bhūpatiḥ [|| 2*]

7 Sēnānīr=iva Śambhōḥ Pradyumana[9] iv=āthavā Harē[r*]=nū.[10] [|*]

8 Dakshē(kshō) v=Āmvu(mbu)jasūtē[r*]-**Dhārāvarshō** narādhipatiḥ || [3*]

9 Dhārāva[r*]shasya putrō=yaṁ jātō **Vīsala**-bhūpatiḥ ||(|)

10 yēna bhū-maṁḍalikānāṁ dharma-mārggō=tra darshi(rśi)taḥ || [4*]

11 Rājñī **Malaradēvyā(vī)** tu patnī Vīsala-bhūpatē[ḥ*] ||(|)

12 sauvarṇṇaṁ kalasaṁ(śaṁ) mūrddhni Siṁdhurājēsva(śva)rē kṛitaṁ(taṁ) || [5*]

13 **[Sa]ṁ[11]vat 1174 Āshāḍha[12] sudi 5 Bhaumē** ||

14 [. . Rājādhirāja][13] . . . .

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[1] See, above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 46-47.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* above *rā*.

[5] The two lost *aksharas* may be restored as *nvayē*.

[6] The lost *aksharas* may be restored as *rāṭ*.

[7] The lost *akshara* may be restored as *dhīḥ*.

[8] As this *akshara* is damaged, it is difficult to say whether the writer meant it to be *Vi* or *Bi*. But since the sign for *b* is denoted by *v* only in *v=Āmvuja* for *v=Āmbuja* in line 8 below, the reading *Vijjalō* is to be preferred.

[9] Read *Pradyumna*.

[10] The lost *aksharas* may be restored as *nam*.

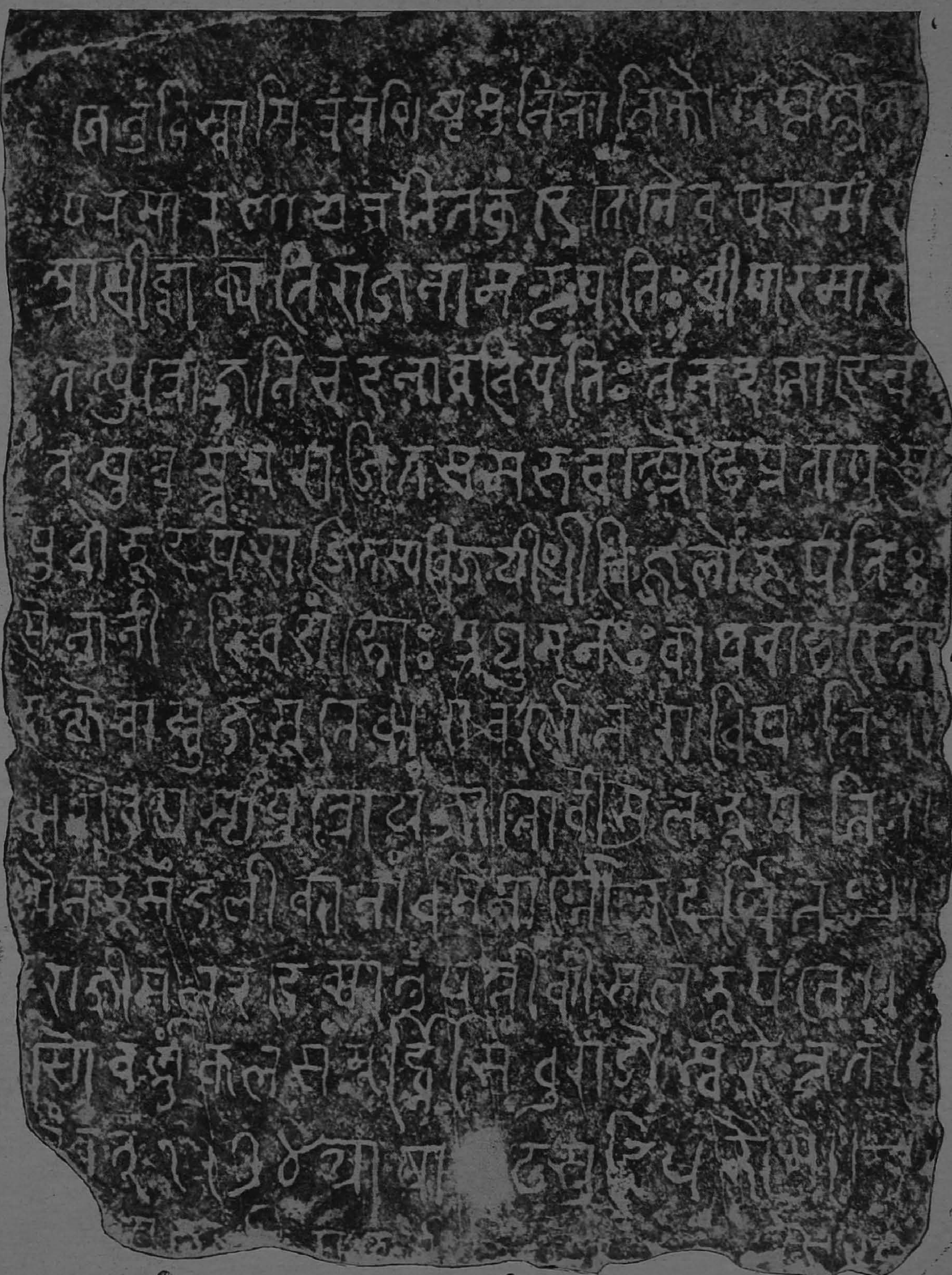
[11] There is an unnecessary *anusvāra*-like mark above *ta*.

[11] The upper portion of *sa* with the *anusvāra* mark above can be seen.

[12] There is a gap between *shā* and *ḍha* caused by the chipping of a piece of stone which existed at the time of engraving the record.

[13] The reading of this word is not certain.

JODHPUR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA VISALA, VIKRAMA 1174



Scale : One-fourth

No. 41—MAHULPARA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA-DHARMARATHA, YEAR 11

(*1 Plate*)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

(*Received on 26.11.1965*)

The copper-plate inscription[1] edited below is now in the possession of Mr. S.C. De, Assistant Director of Archives, Government of Orissa, Bhuvanēśvar. In December 1964 when I visited Bhuvanēśvar during my collection tour, I got its impressions through the kind help of Mr. B. Venkataraman, I.A.S., Home and Cultural Affairs Secretary to the Government of Orissa. It is stated that the charter was discovered at **Mahulpara**, Nayagarh Sub-Division, Puri District, by a villager and that it is owned by him.

The charter consists of **three rectangular plates** each measuring approximately 26.1 cm×18.4 cm at its maximum. The plates are strung together to a circular ring now cut and badly bent. The top right corner of the first plate is cut away. The ends of the ring which is 1.3 cm thick are soldered to a circular **seal** with a diameter of 5.5 cm. The seal which is broken at its top bears, in its counter-sunk surface, a figure in relief representing Gajalakshmī with two arms, seated on a lotus-flower in the *padmāsana* pose, with her left hand kept on the left lap. A beautiful lotus with stalk is carved on either side of the goddess, and on the fully blossomed and double-flexed flower stands, in the characteristic posture, an elephant facing the goddess and engaged evidently in pouring water on her crown, although the foreparts of the elephant and the goddess' crown have been broken and are missing. Of the three plates the first and the third plates contain writing only on one side while the second plate has writing on both sides. There are altogether 63 lines of writing, of which 15 lines are on the first side while 16 lines are on each of the other sides. The writing is well preserved in spite of the fact that the rims of the plates have not been raised. The three plates together weigh 3387 g, while the ring with seal weighs 1128 g.

The **characters** are Nāgarī as prevalent in the 11th century in Kaliṅga, and they resemble those of the Paṭṇā plates of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta[2] and of the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa.[3] As in the case of the alphabet of the latter, several letters of this record also have nail heads. Such letters as *ṭ*, *p* and *y* have forms which, with further development, cause the alphabet in course of time to be designated Gauḍīya or proto-Beṅgālī.[4] Of initial vowels the charter employs *a* (lines 6, 28, 35, 44), *ā* (lines 45, 52), *i* (line 55), and *u* (line 47). It is noteworthy that the initial vowel *u* is not different from the letter *ḍ* (line 48). The signs for the medial vowels are generally normal for the period. However, the forms of some of them are noteworthy. The sign for medial *u* is a triangle attached to the left of the vertical of the letters while medial *ū* is

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1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65, No. A 53.

2 Above, Vol. III, pp. 340-41, Plate between pages 342-43.

3 Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263 ff., and Plate.

4 Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 236.

indicated by a small stroke curving to the right attached to the bottom tip of the verticals of letters. The medial *ē* is indicated generally by a *prishṭha-mātrā* but once it has been indicated by a *śirō-mātrā* (see *yat-kē°*, line 20). The final consonants *t* (line 10), *n* (lines 15, 16, 24, etc.) and *m* (lines 13, 36, 41, 50, 51, etc.) occur. The letter *jh* occurs once in line 19 ; *p* is written in one way upto line 25 and somewhat differently from line 26 onwards ; *y* is different from *p* upto line 27 but approximates to it from line 28 ; and the *avagraha* is employed in lines 31, 36 and 53. Symbols for both *Siddham* and *Ōm* occur in line 1.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the text is partly in verse and partly in prose. Of the ten verses of the introductory portion of the record, a majority are found in other cognate records. As regards **orthography**, the following points are of interest. While *nta* is clear in lines 5 and 28 (*antar°*) it is engraved as *tta* in lines 45 (*bhavatti* for *bhavanti*, *°yatti* for *°yanti*), 46 (*°lgayatti* for *°lgayanti*), 60 (*attar°* for *antar°*) and 61 (*mattri* for *mantri*). The letter *b* is invariably indicated by *v* ; the consonant following *r* is generally doubled ; sometimes *s* is used for *ś* (e.g., *rasmi* for *raśmi*, line 14) and occasionally class nasal is employed for *anusvāra* as in *-ratnānśu* for *ratnāṁśu* (line 14).

The record refers itself to the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Mahāśivagupta-Dharmaratha**, son of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Mahābhavagupta-Bhīmaratha** who is stated to be the son of **Yayāti.** The first two rulers are endowed with the titles *Sōmakulatilaka* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. The date of the record is given as **Saṁvat 11, Phālguna ba. 3.** The year is apparently of the regnal reckoning of king Dharmaratha, the issuer of the charter.

The **importance** of this charter lies in the fact that this is the **only record belonging to the reign of Mahāśivagupta-Dharmaratha discovered so far**, and we learn that he ruled at least for 11 years. Till now it was only from the Balijhari[1] and the Bhuvanēśvar[2] inscriptions of Uddyōtakēsarī, that we know that Dharmaratha ruled after his father Bhīmaratha. The inscription under study supports the genealogy which was originally suggested by Fleet[3] and recently confirmed by Dr. Sircar,[4] but which in the meanwhile underwent a change in the hands of D.R. Bhandarkar.[5] This genealogy with the addition of the king who issued the charter under study will be as follows :

Śivagupta
|
Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya
|
Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti
|
Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha
|
Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha

It must be mentioned here that in the record under study, the grandfather of the donor is called simply *Yayāti*. But there can be no doubt that he was Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti. D.R.

1 *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 15 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.

2 *JRASB* (Letters), Vol. XIII, pp. 63 ff.

3 Above, Vol. III, p. 327.

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 145-49 ; and *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 209 ff.

5 Bhandarkar's List, pp. 403-04, and Nos. 1556-1573.

Bhandarkar takes the king Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti of the Jāṭēsiṅgā-Duṅgri plates[1] as the first of that name and as the father of Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya, although in the records of the latter his father is called Śivagupta and Śivaguptadēva[2] and not Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. But from the details of the charter Dr. Sircar has rightly identified this king with Mahāśivagupta III-Yayāti.[3]

The inscription begins with symbols for *Siddham* and *Ōm*. This is followed by four verses (lines 1-10) in praise of the city of **Yayātinagara** which are also found with some variations in the records of Mahāśivagupta I-Yayāti and Mahābhavagupta II-Bhīmaratha, the grandfather and father respectively of Mahāśivagupta II-Dharmaratha. The short parenthetical prose passage in line 10 states that the charter was issued from this Yayātinagara. In verse 5 (lines 10-12) king **Yayāti** is described and he is stated to belong to the lunar race. Verses 6-8 (lines 12-19) describe his son **Bhīmaratha.** In verses 9-10 (lines 19-24) there is a description of **Dharmaratha**, son of the above-mentioned king. The prose passage, in lines 24-28, refers to Mahāśivaguptarājadēva, evidently the donor of the record, as meditating on the feet of his father Mahābhavaguptarājadēva. The passage, in lines 28-31, states that the king having paid obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas of the **Antaruda-vishaya** in the village **Bhilvi-grāma** of the **Abhayanā-khaṇḍa** of the same Antaruda-vishaya, addressed the following officials. They are *Samāhartṛi, Sannidhātṛi, Niyukta, Adhikārika, Dāṇḍapāśika, Piśunavētrika, Avarōdhajana, Rājñī, Rāṇaka, Rājaputra, Rājavallabha, Bhōgijana*, etc. This list of officials is almost the same as found in the cognate records[4] except for the addition of *Bhōgijana* here. Lines 31-37 contain the purport of the charter namely the grant made by the king of the above-mentioned Bhilvi-grāma, making it tax-free, to *Rāṇa-śrī*-Abhimanyu, who was the son of Vasu and grandson of Dāmōdara and who belonged to Kāśyapa-gōtra with three *pravaras*. The grant of the village is stated to have been accompanied by the privileges like *pratīhāra, andhāruva, padāti-jīvya, hastidaṇḍa, varabalīvardda, chiṅgōla*[5] and *adattā*, together with *nidhi, upanidhi*, etc. In lines 37-38, the king is stated to ask the above-mentioned officials to reckon with the gift by presenting their appropriate share of the rights in the village due to the king, evidently to the donee. The passage in lines 39-40 contains the appeal of the king to future kings for the protection of this gift as if it is theirs. Then follow thirteen of the usual imprecatory verses (lines 40-56) met with in the records of this region.

The verse 24 (lines 57-59) mentions the *Sandhivigrahi* Kumuṇḍipāla, and his description is similar to the description of the *Sandhivigrahis* figuring in other cognate records as for instance the Kaṭak copper-plate charter of the third year of Mahābhavagupta I.[6] The next verse 25 (lines 59-62) is similarly in praise of the writer of the record, Nētradēva who is stated to be *Mantrivara* and *Mahākshapaṭalādhikṛita*. The date of the record mentioned above is then given, which is followed by the statement that the charter was written, apparently wrong for engraved, by *Vijñānin* Sōllaṅgāka.

Of the **geographical names** occurring here, **Yayātinagara** is identified with the modern Binka, in the former Sonepur State,[7] while the gift village **Bhilvi-grāma, Antaruda-vishaya** and **Abhayanā-khaṇḍa** cannot be identified.

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[1] *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1557-60, 1562.

[3] *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 210-11.

[4] Above, Vol. III, pp. 342, etc.

[5] This is called *chiṭṭōla* in the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 267, text line 38).

[6] Above, Vol. III, p. 358, text lines 66-69.

[7] Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 271.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verses 1-3, 6, 8-10, 24-25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 4 *Upajāti*; verse 5 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 7 *Sragdharā*; verse 11-13, 15-21, *Anushṭubh*; verse 14 *Indravajrā*; verse 22 *Śālinī*; verse 23 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[2] Ōm[2] [| *] Svasti prēma-niruddha-mugdha-manasōḥ sphārībhavach-chakshushōr=yūnōr=yatra [vichi]-

2 tra-nirbhara-rata-krīḍā-kraman-tanvatōḥ | vichchhinnō=pi kṛit-ātimātra-pulakair=āvir-bhavat-sītkṛi-

3 tair=āślēshair=glapita-klamaiḥ smara-rasaḥ kāmam=muhus=tāpyatē || [1*] Yatr=āśēsha-visēsha-rū-

4 pa-mahim-āpāst-āpsaraḥ-kāntibhir-jjāt-ērpyā(rshyā)-kalahēshv=api praṇayinaḥ ka[r]ṇṇ-ōtpalais-tāḍi-

5 tāḥ | jāyantē praviśat-sita[3]-smara-śara-prōtthāpit-āntar-vyathā-syandi[4]-svēda-jal-āvasēcha-

6 na-vaśānvi(n=ni)rjjāta[5]-rōm-āṅkurāḥ || [2*] Aty-uttuṅga-karīndra-danta-musala-prōd-bhāsi-rōchiś-chayair=dhvānta[6]-

7 dhvan(dhvaṁ)sana-nishphalīkṛita-śarach-chandr-ōdayais=sarvvadā | yatr=āsīd=asatī-janasya visa(śa)dam=muktā-

8 mayam=maṇḍanaṁ saṅkēt-āspadam=apy=atīva dhavala[ṁ*] prāsāda-sṛi(śṛi)ṅg-āgrataḥ ||[7] [3*] Mahānadī-tuṅga-ta-

9 raṅga-bhaṅga-sphār-ōchchha[8]lach-chhīkaravadbhir=ārāta(t) | yasmin=rat-āsaktimad-aṅganānāṁ śram-āpanō-

10 daḥ kriyatē marudbhiḥ[9] ||[4*] Tasmāt śrī-**Yayāti-nagarāt** | Lōka-traya-prathita-śubhra-yaśō-

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The Kaṭak plates of the 9th year of Mahāśivagupta I read *praviśaṅkita-* here (see above, Vol. III, p. 352, text line 5).

[4] The above-mentioned plates read °*sāndri*° here (ibid., text line 6).

[5] The above-mentioned plates read °*niryyāta*° here (ibid., text line 6).

[6] The same plates read °*dhvasta*° here (ibid., text line 7), which has been corrected to °*dhvānta*° (ibid. foot note 3).

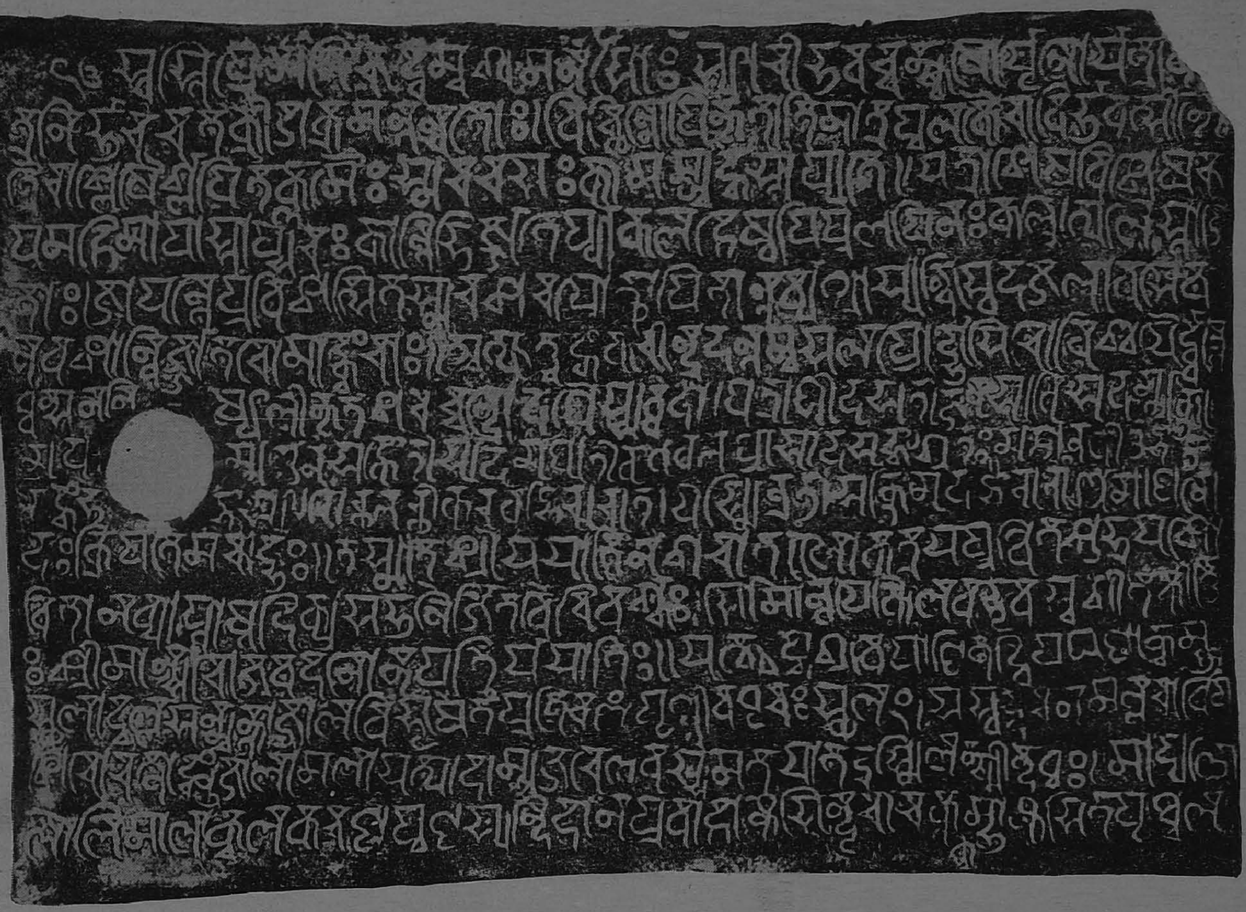
[7] The *daṇḍas* are engraved below the line.

[8] The above mentioned Kaṭak plates read °*ōtsa*° here which is corrected to °*ōchchha*° (above, Vol. III, p. 352, text line 10).

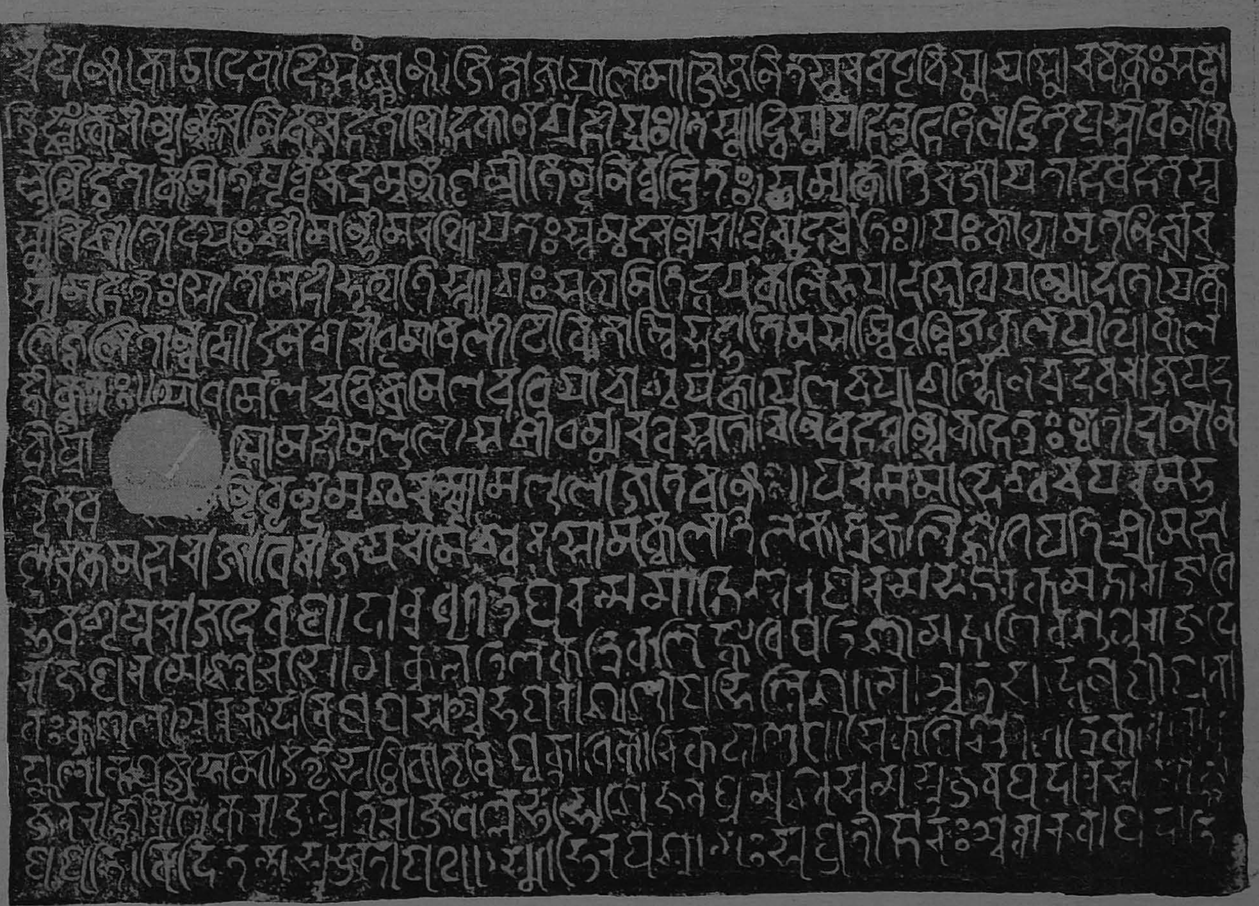
[9] The sign for medial *i* is only faintly engraved.

MAHULPARA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA-DHARMARATHA, YEAR 11

i



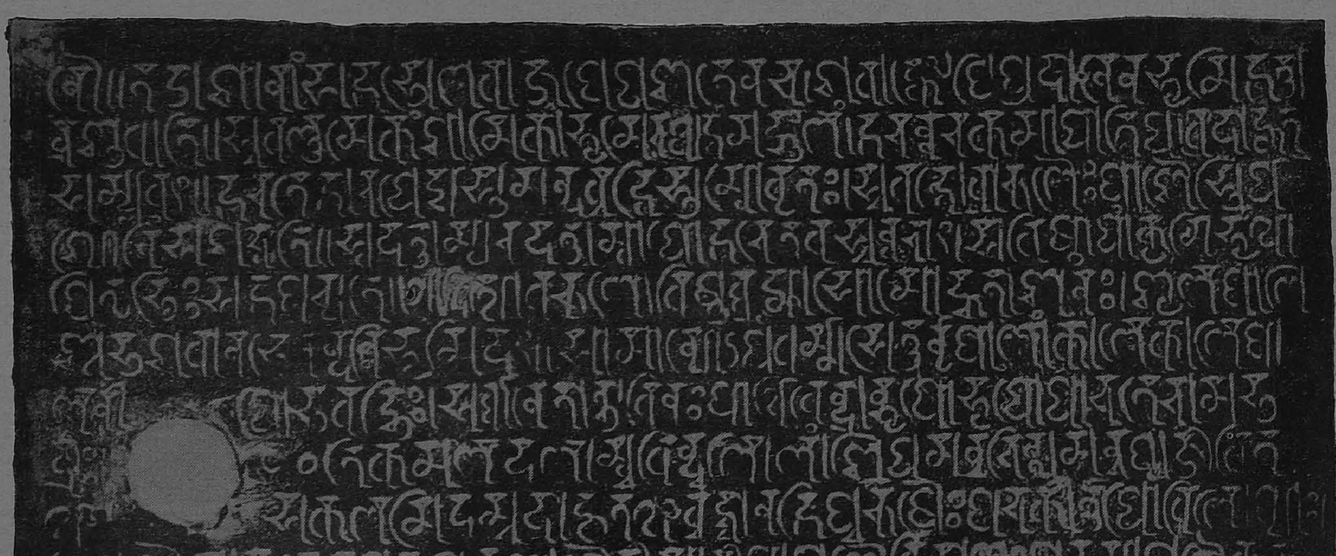
ii, a



ii, b



iii



Scale : One-half

11 vitāna-vyāpt-āshṭa-dik-prasabha-nirji(rjji)ta-vairi-varggaḥ | Sōm-ānvayē kila va(ba)-bhūva sugīta-kīrtti-

12 ḥ śrīmān-sarōja-vadanō nṛipatir=**Yayātiḥ** ||[5*] Yat-khaḍg-āgra-vipāṭita[1]-dvipa-ghaṭā-kumbha-

13 sthalād=ullasan-muktā-jāla-vibhūshitaṁ prati-raṇaṁ pṛithvī-vadh-ūraḥsthalam | sasva(śaśva)d-da(dū)ra-naman-narādhipa-

14 śirō-ratnāṅśu(ṁśu)-jāl-āmalā yat-pād-āmbuja-rēṇavas=samatayā tad-rasmi(śmi)-lakshmīn=dadhuḥ ||[6*] Mādyal-lō-

15 l-āli-mālā-kula-karaṭa-puṭa-syandi-dāna-pravāhān sindūr-ārakta-ku[2]mbhān sita-pṛithula-

Second Plate, First side

16 radān |[3] Kāmadēv-ādi-saṁjñān | jitv-Ājāpālam=ājau janita-sura-vadhū-vismaya-smēra-vaktraḥ sa dvā-

17 triṅśa(ṁśa)t=karīndrān=śara-nikara-hat-ārōhakān=agrahīd=yaḥ ||[7*] Tasmād=vismaya-hētu-hēti-laḍita-prastāvan-āka-

18 [r*]ṇṇanair=r-ddhūtā-kampita-pūrvva-Rudra-mukuṭa-prīt-Ēndru-nirvarṇṇitaḥ | bhrāmyat-kī[r*]ttir=ajāyat=āhava-hata-sva-

19 sth-āri-gīt-ōdayaḥ śrīmān=**Bhīmarathō** yataḥ svam=udaran=Tār=āchirād=archchati(ti) || [8*] Yaḥ kāvy-āmṛita-nirjhara-

20 sya mahataḥ sōtā mahībhṛit-patis=tyāgaḥ satyam=iti dvaya[ṁ][4] kali[5]-bhayād=abhyētya yam=mōdatē | yat-kē-

21 li-jvalit=Andhra-Gauḍa-nagarī-dhūmāvalī-ṭhaukitām=vi(bi)bhrad-bhāti=masīm=vidhu[r*]=nnija-kula-prītyā kala-

22 ṅkīkṛitaḥ ||[9*] Yō dharmēṇa cha vikramēṇa cha dhiyā ch=āścharya-kāryēṇa cha prāgalbhyēna cha dēva-rāja-pada-

23 vīṁ prāptō mahīmaṇḍalē | sa śrī-**Dharmmarathas**=tatō=ri-nivaha-dhvans-aika[6]-hētuḥ kṛitī dān-āna-

24 ndita-vandi-vṛinda-mukhara-kshmā-maṇḍalō jātavān || [10*] Paramamāhēśvara-paramabha-

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[1] The sign for medial *i* is only faintly engraved.

[2] This *ku* is written below the line.

[3] This *daṇḍa* is not necessary.

[4] The mark of *anusvāra* seems to have been wrongly placed on *li* of the following word *kali*, while here a small curved stroke is placed.

[5] A mark of *anusvāra* is placed on *li* by mistake, and it seems that it ought to have been placed on *ya* of the preceding word *dvaya*.

[6] Read *dhvaṁs-aika*.

25 ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirā[1]ja-paramēśvara-Sōmakulatilaka-tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śrī-**Mahā-**

26 **bhavaguptarājadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi-

27 rāja-paramēśvara-Sōmakulatilaka-tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śrī-**Mahāśivaguptarājadē-**

28 **vaḥ** kuśalī **Antaruda-vishayasa(sya) Abhayanā-khaṇḍīya Bhilvi-grāmē** | Atasad-vishyayīya[2] vā(brā)-

29 hmaṇān=[sa][ṁ*]pūjya samāhartṛi-sannidhātṛi-niyukt-ādhikārika-dāṇḍapāsi(śi)ka-piśuna-vētrik-āvarōdha-

30 jana-rājñī-rāṇaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-bhōgijana-pramukha-samasta-janapadāna(n) samājñā-

31 payati | viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=āsmābhir=aya[ṁ*] grāmaḥ sa-pratīhāraḥ andhāruvī-padāti-

Second Plate, Second Side

32 jīvya-nastidaṇḍa-varava(ba)līvardda-chiṅgōla-adatt-ādi-sahitaḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpani-

33 dhiḥ sa[r*]vva-vā(bā)dhā-varjitaḥ sarvv-ōparikar-ādāna-samētaś=chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ s-āmra-madhū-

34 **kaḥ** sa-gartt-ōsharas=sa-jalasthalaḥ Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya | try-ārsha-pravarāya | Dāmō-

35 dara-pautrāya | Vāsu-putrāya | Rāṇa-śrī-Abhimanyu-nāmnē | salila-dhārā-purassara-[ṁ*] | ā-

36 chandra-tār-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kāl-ōpa-bhōg-ārtham mātā-pitrōr-ātma[3]naś=cha puṇya-yaśō=

37 'bhivṛiddhayē | sa-pratīhārēṇa tāmra-śāsanēn=ākarī-kṛitya pratipādita ity=avagatya-sva(sa)-

38 muchita-kara-bhōga-bhāg-ādikam=upanayadbhir=bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavyam= iti | bhā-

39 vibhiś=cha bhūpatibhir=ddattir=iyam=asmadīyā | dharmma-gauravād=asmad-anurōdhā

40 ch=cha sva-dattir=iv=ānupālanīyā | tathā ch=ōktaṁ dharmma-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir= vvasudhā da-

41 ttā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [|| 11*]

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[1] The sign for subscript *v* is wrongly engraved at the bottom of this *akshara*.

[2] The intended reading seems to be *atas=tad-vishayīya*.

[3] The letter *tma* looks exactly like *mē*.

42 Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [|*] sva-dattāt=phalam=ānantyam= para-datt-ānupāla-

43 nē ||[12*] Shashṭim=varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha dvau tau nara-

44 ka-gāminau || [13*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇa[ṁ] bhū[r]=Vvaishṇavī sūrya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ | yaḥ kāñcha-

45 naṁ gāñ=cha mahīñ=cha dadyād=dattās=trayas=tēna bhavatti(nti) lōkē(kāḥ) ||[14*] Āsphō-ṭayatti(nti) pitarō va-

46 lgayatti(nti) pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhavishyati ||[15*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pra-

47 tigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāmi-

Third Plate

48 nau ||[16*] Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavāṅ=kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā

49 na śudhyati || [17*] Suva[r*]ṇṇam=ēkaṁ gām=ēkāṁ bhūmēr=apy-arddham=aṅgulaṁ | haran=narakam=āyāti yāvad=āhūta-

50 samplavam ||[18*] Haratē hārayēd=yas=tu manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamvō(mō)-vṛitaḥ | su-va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇaiḥ pāśais=tirya-

51 g-yōniṁ sa gachchhati || [19*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā

52 pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [20*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇu[r*]=Vvra(Bra)hmā Sōmō Hutāśanaḥ | Śūlapāṇi-

53 ś=cha Bhagavān[1]=abhinandanti bhūmidam ||[21*] Sāmānyō='yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛi-pāṇāṁ kālē kālē pā-

54 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha-

55 draḥ ||[22*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(āmbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvita-

56 ñ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ parakīrttayō vilōpyāḥ |[|23*]

57 Nipnātaus[2]=saha-dēvarāja-guruṇā maitrīm=maṇīshā-guṇair=vvi(bi)bhrāṇaḥ paramā-[ṁ*] guṇ-aika-va-

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1 This *na* is without the usual loop.

2 Read *Nishṇātas*°.

58 satiḥ Kumuṇḍipālaḥ[1] kṛitī | kurvāṇaḥ kila sandhi-vigraha-padaṁ yaś=chandra-sūryā-tmi[2]kāṁ mū-

59 [r*]ttin=tatva-nivipta(shṭa)-dhīḥ prakaṭayaty=āścharya-varshī satām ||[24*] Yat-kīrtti-prasara-prabhūta-mā(ma)hima(mā)-

60 prōdvīkshaṇ-āmīlita-vrīḍā-vēga-vaśād=ayam=malinatām=atta(nta)r=vvidhattē śasī | sa śrī-

61 mattri(ntri)varō mahākshapaṭalādhyakshaḥ satām-agraṇīr=ēkaś=śāsanam[3]=abhyalīlikha-

62 d=idaṁ śrī-Nētradēvaḥ svayam ||[25*]|| **Saṁvat 11 Phālguna-vadi 3** || Vijñāni-Sōllaṅgā-kēna li-

63 khitam=iti[4] ||

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[1] Metre requires the name to read as *Kūmuṇḍipālaḥ*.

[2] Since the part of the letter *t* forming the conjunct letter has been engraved to the left of the latter, the *i-mātra* has been shown at the top.

[3] Read *ētach=chhāsanam*.

[4] These letters are engraved at the bottom right corner.

No. 42—TWO BHANJA COPPER PLATES

(*2 Plates*)

J. SUNDARAM, MYSORE

(*Received on 10-11-1965*)

Impressions of the following two copper plates, called A and B, were found among the old collection in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, with whose permission they are edited here. The source from which they were received and their findspot are not ascertainable.

Both A and B consist of a **single** plate with writing on both the sides. In Plate A, the text is almost complete but for a few letters in the end. This plate contains 16 lines of writing on each side. The seal for the plate is soldered on to the top of the single copper plate. The round **seal** is edged in the form of a full-blown lotus and contains the figure of a couchant bull facing a trident on the proper left with a crescent above it, all cut in relief on a counter-sunk surface. The legend reading *śrī-Raṇabhañja[sya]*, is engraved below these symbols in a strip reserved for the purpose while scooping out the portions above and below. There seems to have been a seal similarly attached to the other copper-plate (Plate B) but no impression of the same has been preserved along with those of the plate. The latter contains twenty lines of writing on the first side and fourteen lines on the other side. The writing on this plate is very much damaged. Only the central portion is fairly clear, the portions all around being very much worn out.

The **characters** employed in our inscriptions are very similar to those found on the Ṛāmaṅghāṭī plates of Raṇabhañja and Rājabhañja,[1] the Ukhunda plate of Pṛithvībhañja[2] and the Bhañja grant from Khiching.[3] They can also be favourably compared with those of the Ādipur plates of Narēndrabhañja.[4] Many of the letters in Plate B bear the arrow-head of the Siddhamātṛikā alphabet. Palaeographically this writing has been assigned to the 11th century, as it resembles the writing in the Naḍagām plates of Vajrahasta dated Śaka 979.[5]

The **language** of both the inscriptions is Sanskrit. But as in the other plates of the rulers of the Bhañja dynasty the language is full of mistakes. There are many instances of omission and commission and confused use of letters. See for example °*vidhyijñaḥ* for °*vidhijñaḥ* (line 3) *sāsanīkṛityātyāchaṭṭa*° for *śāsanīkṛity=āchāṭa*° (line 27), *śrī-Kōṭyāśramahātāpadhika* for *śrī-Kōṭyāśrama mahātapōvan-ādhishṭhānē* (lines 3-4), *bhūpālā* for *bhūpālān* (line 19), °*vasēṁ* for °*vaṁśē* (line 6) and *asa[ṁ]k ya-sāmanya-nṛipatiḥ sad-ārchchita*° for *asaṅkhya-sāmanta-nṛipati-sad-ārchchita*°

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[1] *JASB*, Vol. XL, pp. 161 ff.

[2] *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 418 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 220 ff.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 147 ff.

[5] Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 134. Also see ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 220-21.

(lines 8-9) of Plate A. Similar mistakes in Plate B are not wanting. Another more interesting feature of these two records is that in both of them not only the issuer of the respective charters but also their fathers, are described as addressing all the kings regarding the grants. This fact indicates that the drafters of these documents simply copied the introductory part of the text ; i.e.,verses 1-7 from that of their fathers without the least alteration.

Plate A commences with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the expression *śrī-Raṇabhañja-dēvasya* meaning that the charter under question is of the king of that name. It is followed by the auspicious word *svasti* and an invocatory verse (verse 1) in praise of Bhava (i.e., Śiva) who was evidently worshipped by the Bhañja ruler who issued the charter and by his predecessors. Then follows the introductory portion comprising seven verses (verses 2-8). It is stated that in the place called Kōṭyāśrama there emerged from the peahen's egg the king Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra who was protected by the sage Vasishṭha (verses 2-3). In this Ādibhañja family was born the king named **Kōṭṭabhañja,** the overlord of numerous *sāmantas* (verses 3-4). His son **Rāyābhañja,** the worshipper of Hara (i.e. Śiva), was on the side of **Diśābhañja** and had his seat at **Khijiṅgakōṭṭa** (verses 5-7). His son was **Bhañjamahārāja Raṇabhañja,** who too was a worshipper of Hara and had his seat also at Khijiṅgakōṭṭa (verse 8).

Then follows the formal portion of the grant in prose in lines 19-30. It records Raṇabhañja's grant, by issuing a copper plate charter, of the village **Vāṇivadā** in **[Ā]ḍa-grāma-vishaya** to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇamitra, son of Bhaṭṭa Harimitra, son of Bhaṭṭa Lōkamitra, who belonged to the Kuśika-gōtra with the *triṛishipravara* viz., Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala, and hailed from **Vīkhatī** (lines 19-27). Then follows the injunction that this village granted for the merit and fame of the donor and of his parents should not be entered by the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (lines 27-30). Then follows the incomplete imprecatory portion (lines 30-32) which requests all to honour this gift for all time to come.

In **Plate B,** as stated above, the beginning portion is damaged and the first few letters of each line discernible are also erased. But the extant portion shows that all the eight verses of the introductory part are more or less identical with those of Plate A. The only difference is that the names of Kōṭṭabhañja's nephew (*bhrātṛija*) **Durjayabhañja** and of the latter's son **Rā[.] bhañja,** the issuer of the charter, are substituted here in the place of **Rāyābhañja** and his son **Raṇabhañja** of Plate A. The partly preserved name of the issuer of the present grant, viz., Rā [.] bhañja reminds us of the name Rāyabhañja of the Plate A and of Rājabhañja of the Bāmanghāṭī plate. These eight verses are followed by a prose passage wherein the Bhañjamahārāja is seen addressing the kings and making a grant probably of a village to a Brāhmaṇa. The details regarding the donee and the village granted are lost in the erased portion at the end of the plate. But this much is clear that the donee, as in Plate A, hailed from **Vīkhatī** and belonged to the Kushika-gōtra and that he was a grandson (?) of Harimitra who was probably identical with the father of Nārāyaṇamitra, the donee in Plate A. These details as clearly seen and as deduced suggest that this record was issued later but not long after Plate A. On the second side of the plate, the beginning portion is very much damaged. Then are given the imprecatory verses followed by a statement that whatever is written above must be taken as authentic without reference to omissions and commissions in the text.

The importance of these plates lies in that they enable us to understand better the genealogy of the Bhañjas of Khijiṅgakōṭṭa. On the basis of the material supplied by various charters, this genealogy was reconstructed by scholars as follows[1] :—

```
                    Gaṇadaṇḍa
              Vīrabhadra (Ādibhañja)
                        :
                        :
                    Kōṭṭabhañja
                        |
      Digbhañja alias Durjayabhañja alias
                  Vibhramatuṅga
                        |
         +--------------+--------------+
         |                             |
     Raṇabhañja                  Narēndrabhañja
```

According to the present plates it is clear that Kōṭṭabhañja had besides Digbhañja, another son named Rāyābhañja who was an ally of Diśābhañja (*Diśābhañja-paksha-sthita*). As Diśābhañja seems to be the same as Digbhañja,[2] we have to conclude that Rāyābhañja held a subordinate position to Digbhañja, his brother. The son of this Rāyābhañja was Bhañja-mahārāja Raṇabhañja, the issuer of the charter **A**. He seems to be identical with *mahārāja* Raṇabhañja, son of Vibhramatuṅga of the Ādipur plates[3] as indicated by the title *mahārāja* which is not applied to Raṇabhañja, whose father is said to have been Digbhañja or Durjayabhañja. So the father of the *mahārāja* Raṇabhañja of our record and the Ādipur plates must have been identical and Vibhramatuṅga must be taken to have been a title of Rāyābhañja rather than that of Digbhañja.

According to Plate B Kōṭṭabhañja had a nephew (*bhrātṛija*) named Durjayabhañja, whose son was Rā[.]bhañja. So, in the light of the present plates, the revised genealogy can be presented thus :—

```
                          Gaṇadaṇḍa
                    Vīrabhadra (Ādibhañja)
                              |
               Kōṭṭabhañja ---+------------ brother (not named)
                    |                              |
      +-------------+-----------+                  |
      |                         |                  |
Digbhañja (Diśābhañja)     Rāyābhañja         Durjayabhañja
alias Durjayabhañja           alias                |
      |                   Vibhramatuṅga       Rā[.]bhañja
 Raṇabhañja                    |
                     mahārāja Raṇabhañja.
```

[1] *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, p. 151 and Vol. XXX, p. 223.

[2] Cf. Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 275.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 155-61.

The genealogy supplied by these two plates and the details about the donees in the two records, suggesting that the donee of Plate B was only removed by one generation from that of Plate A, lead us to conclude that the son of Durjayabhañja ruled in Khijiṅgakōṭṭa later than but not long after Raṇabhañja.

Though the present records are not dated, the period of rule of these rulers can be determined on the basis of the Bāmanghāṭī Plate (I) of Raṇabhañja,[1] which is dated 288 or 188 and the subscript to the Ādipur plate (I) dated 293 or 193.[2] Both these dates are expressed in symbols and they have been assinged to the era used by the Bhaumakaras who are supposed to have been the overlords of the Bhañja rulers of this branch.[3] The symbol used in these records for expressing the hundred was previously taken to represent 200 but recently the opinion has been expressed that they actually represent 100 and the dates have to be read as 188 and 193.[4] On the basis of the details of date given in the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa,[5] wherein the year 198 has been expressed according to the decimal system and on the basis of palaeography, the commencement of the Bhaumakara era has been fixed at 831 A.D. As we have identified Raṇabhañja of the present plates with the king figuring in the subscript of the Ādipur plates, Plate A must have been issued round about the **year 193 of Bhaumakara era**, i.e., **1024 A.D.** The son of Durjayabhañja of Plate B could have ruled subsequent to the year 193.

Khijiṅgakōṭṭa has been identified as the modern Khiching, 90 miles to the west of Baripadā in Mayūrbhañj and **Kōṭyāśrama** as Kuṭing, thirty-two miles from Baripadā.[6]

PLATE A

TEXT[7]

Obverse

1 Siddham[8][| *] **Śrī-Raṇabhañja-dēvasya** | Svasa(sti) | [9] Sakala-bhū(bhu)van-aika-

2 nāthō bhava-bhaya-vi(bhi)durō [Vābhā(Bhavō)] [Bhavāmī(nī)]śa[ḥ] [|] vividha-sa-

3 mādhi-vidhyi(dhi)jñaḥ sarvvajñō vaḥ śivāy=ā[stu] | [| 1*] [10]Śrī-**Kōṭyā-**

4 **śra[ma]**[hā]tāpadhika[11] | māya(yū)rāṇḍaṁ bhī(bhi)tvā Gaṇadaṇḍō

---

[1] *JASB*, Vol. XL, p. 166, where the date has not been properly read.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 157.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 221.

[4] Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 135, where the symbol resembling the Nāgarī letter *lū* has been taken to represent 200 and the same symbol with a slight alteration, the resultant looking like *lu*, has been understood to stand for 100.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 189 ff.

[6] Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 300.

[7] From impressions.

[8] Expressed by symbol.

[9] This verse is in *Āryā* metre.

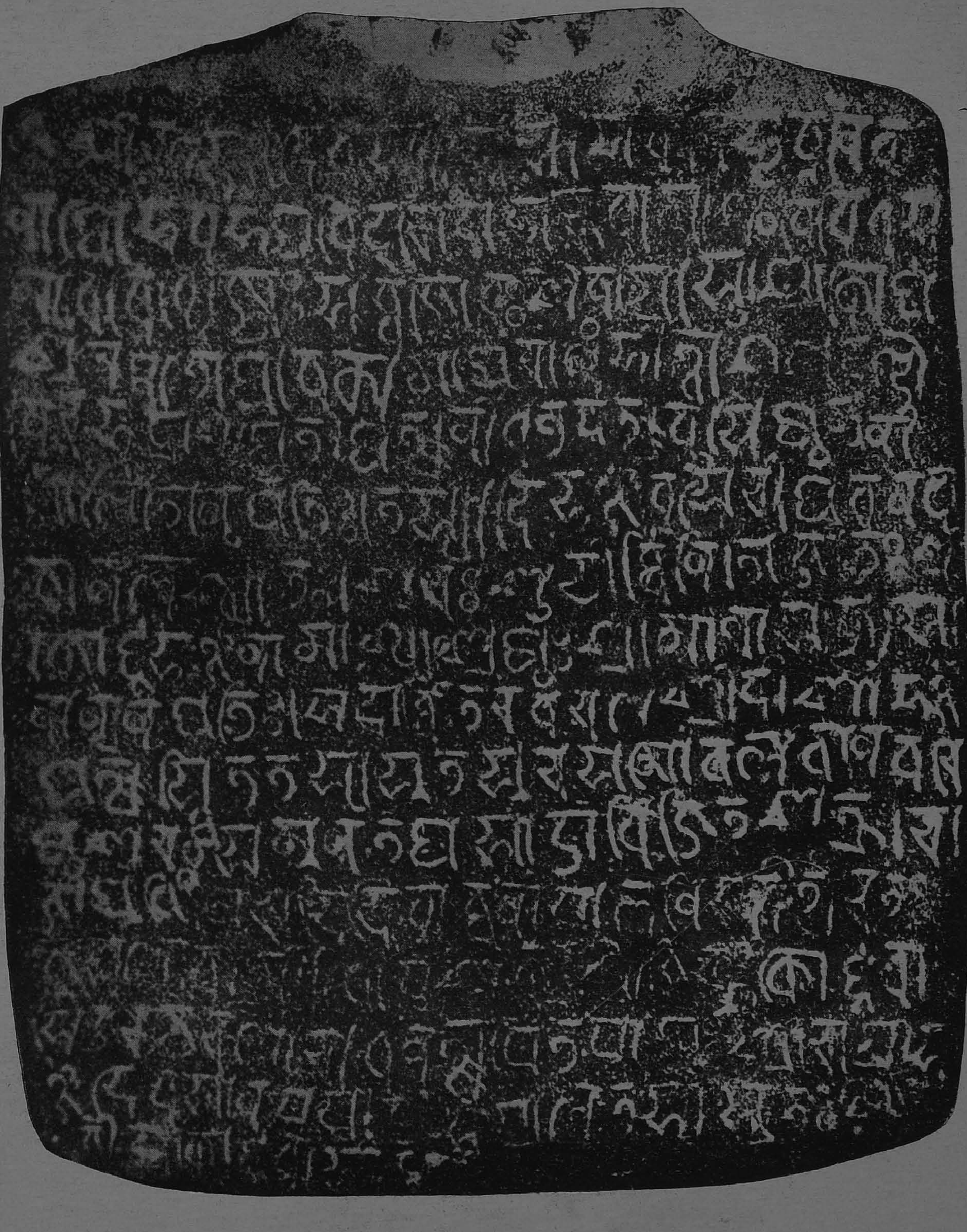
[10] Though this verse seems to be in *Upagīti* metre, it is defective.

[11] Read: *Āsīt=Kōṭy-āsrama iti mahātapōvan-ābhishthānē* as in other plates to suit the metre. Cf. Above, Vol. XXX, p. 224, note 7.

TWO BHANJA COPPER PLATES — PLATE I

A

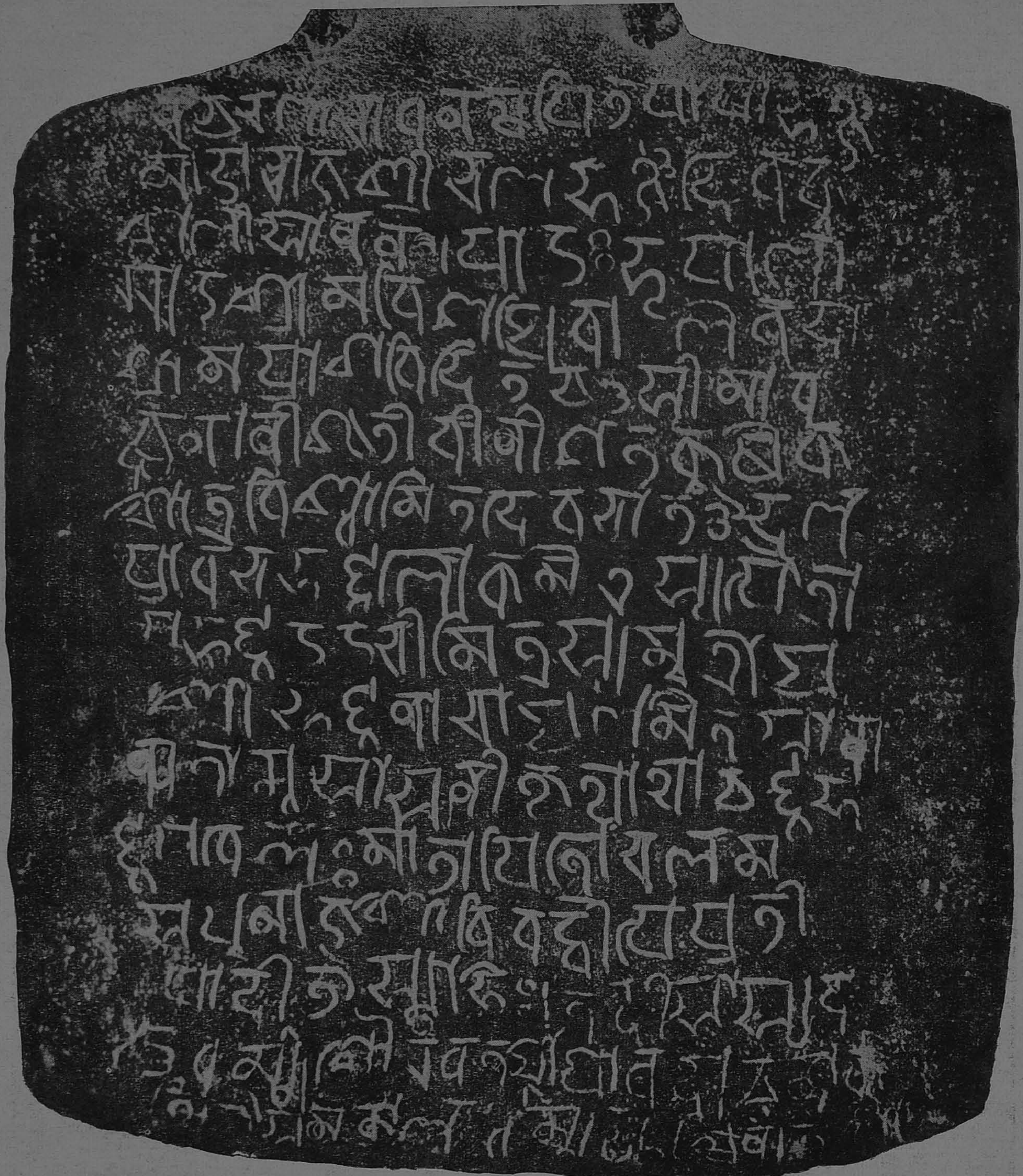
Obverse



G. S. Gai.

t, b

Reverse



(From Photographs)

Seal



5 Vi(Vī)rabhadr-ā[khya][ḥ ||2*] [1]Pratī(ti)paksha-nī(ni)dhanu(na)-daksha(kshō) Vasishṭha-mun(ni)-

6 pālitō nṛipatiḥ | tasy=**Ādibhañja**-vasēṁ(vaṁśē) rī(ri)pu-vana-dā-

7 vānala[ḥ*] khyātaḥ | [| 3*] [2]Śu[Śū]raḥ śuchī(chi)r=vvinni(nī)tō jātaḥ [śrī]-

8 **Kōṭṭabhañja**-nām-ākhya[ḥ[3] | *] [śrē]shṭhaḥ[4] srīmān=āsa[ṁ]kya-sā-

9 [mā]nya-nṛipatiḥ | sad-ārchchita-ravaraṇa[5] [| 4*] Śrī-**Dī(Di)śābha[ñja]**-

10 paksha-sthita[s*][6]=tasya suta[ḥ*] sura[7]-samō balavāna(n |)vari-

11 shṭha[ḥ*] śu(śū)raḥ samuna(nna)ta-yasā(śāḥ) [pra]vijita-śatru|(truḥ ||)[8] [5*] Rā-

12 jā Yudhi[shṭhi]rādid=iv=āvva(va)nī-pālanē[9] [cha] nī(ni)tya[ṁ] rataḥ

13 [kuśala-karmma]-[vi*]dhau praśa(sa)[ktaḥ] [||6*]**Khijiṅga**[10]**kōṭṭa**-vā-

14 si(sī) Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapita-pā[pa]ḥ [| *] Śrī-**Rāyābha**-

15 **ñjadēva[ḥ*]** sa-vi[na*][yaṁ] prāha [cha*] bhu(bhū)pāla(lān) [||7*] Tasya suta * Khi]-

16 jīṅgakōṭṭa-vāsī [Ha]-

Reverse

17 ra-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapita-pāpō Bhañja-

18 mā(ma)hārāja-śrī-**Raṇabhañjadēva[ḥ*]** ku-

---

[1] This verse is in *Upagīti* metre.

[2] This and the following four verses are metrically defective.

[3] Read °*bhañjākhyaḥ* and the metre will be *Upagīti*.

[4] The two Bāmanghāṭi plates and the Khiching plate have *putraḥ tad-anurūpaḥ śrēshṭhaḥ*. But, whereas in the case of Bāmanghāṭi plate of Raṇabhañja alone these phrases apply to Digbhañja, in the other instance they refer to Raṇabhañja. The Khaṇḍadēulī plates though not giving the identical phrases describe Digbhañja as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja. The Ukhunda plate has *tasy=ānvayē babhūva śrēshṭhaḥ* in the identical place describing the connection between Kōṭṭabhañja and Raṇabhañja. The Kēshari plate describes Durjayabhañja as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja but does not use similar phrases.

[5] Read *śrīmān=asaṁkhya-sāmanta-nṛipati-sad-ārchchita-charaṇaḥ* as in the Bāmanghāṭi plates. The Ukhunda and Khiching plates have *śrīmān=asaṁkhya-sāmantaḥ nṛipati-śat-ārchchita-charaṇaḥ*. The Keshari plate has °*māṇḍalika-śat-ārchchita-charaṇa*.° The Khaṇḍadēulī plate does not contain this epithet.

[6] The Bāmanghāṭi plate of Raṇabhañja has *śrī-Digbhañjō jagat-prathitaḥ* (The reading given on p. 165 of *JASB*, Vol. XL is wrong). The Bāmanghāṭi plate of Rājabhañja, the Ukhunda plate of Pṛithvībhañja and the Khiching plate have *jagat-prathitaḥ* applied to Raṇabhañja. The Khaṇḍadēuli plate though mentioning Digbhañja does not contain this passage. The text of the Kēshari plate, after the invocatory stanza, differs from the other plates in the presentation and Ādhibhañja is stated to have been made the head of 88,000 villages.

[7] Other plates have *ātmajaḥ smara-samō*.

[8] Other plates have *pravijitya śatrūn*.

[9] Read *Rājā Yudhishṭhira iv=āvanī-pālanē*.

[10] Read *Khijjiṅga* to suit the metre. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 225. f.n.2.

19 śalī [||8*] sāna na |[1] prāhaḥ(ha) bhūpālā(lān) [| *]

20 **[Ā]ḍagrāma-viśa(sha)yē Vā[ṇi]vadā-**

21 **grāma[ḥ*]** prāga(g)-vidita-chatusī(s-sī)mā-*vachchhinaḥ*

22 *vachchhinnaḥ* |[2] **Vīkhati**-vinīgata[3]-Kushi(śi)ka-

23 gōtra-Vi(Vai)śvāmitra-Dē(Dai)varāta-Ō(t-Au)dala-

24 prā(pra)vara-bhaṭṭa-Lōkamitrasya pautrā-

25 ya bhaṭṭa-Haharīmitrasya[4] mu(pu)trāya

26 śrī-bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇamitra(trā)[ya*] sā[nā]

27 [nya][5]-[tā]mvra(mbra)-sā(śā)sanīkṛityāty=āchaṭṭa-bha

28 ṭṭa-pavēśah[6] mātā-pitrō-ralama-

29 sa punya-jaśō-vivaddhīyē[7] pratī(ti)-

30 pādī(di)tō=smābhiḥ | tad=īsāsya da-

31 [tti]-dharmma-gauravatayā yāva[8]d=āchandr-ārka-

32 kshitī(ti)-sama-kāla(laṁ) dharmma-dākshinya(ṇya)tayā[9]

PLATE B

Obverse

1 . . . .

2 . . . .

3 . . . .

4 . . . .

5 . . . .

6 . . . . [shṭha]-muni-pālitō nṛipatiḥ[| *] [ta]

---

[1] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Read *sānunayam*.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] Read *vinirggata*.

[4] Read *Harimitrasya*.

[5] Read *sāmānya*.

[6] Read °*krity=āchāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśaḥ*.

[7] Read *mātā pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē*.

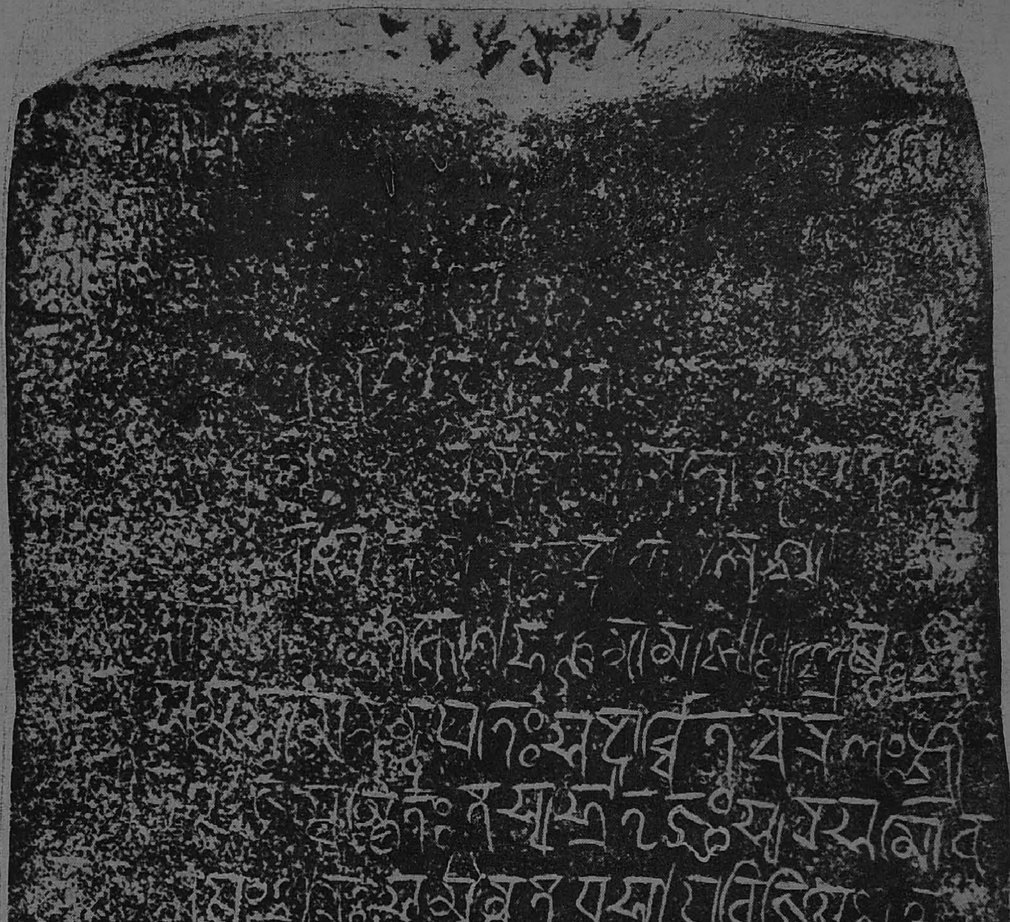
[8] Read *Tad=asyā dattēr=dharmma*-gauravād=yāva°.

[9] This record ends here. Evidently the expression like *bhavadbhiḥ paripālanīy-ēti* is omitted.

B

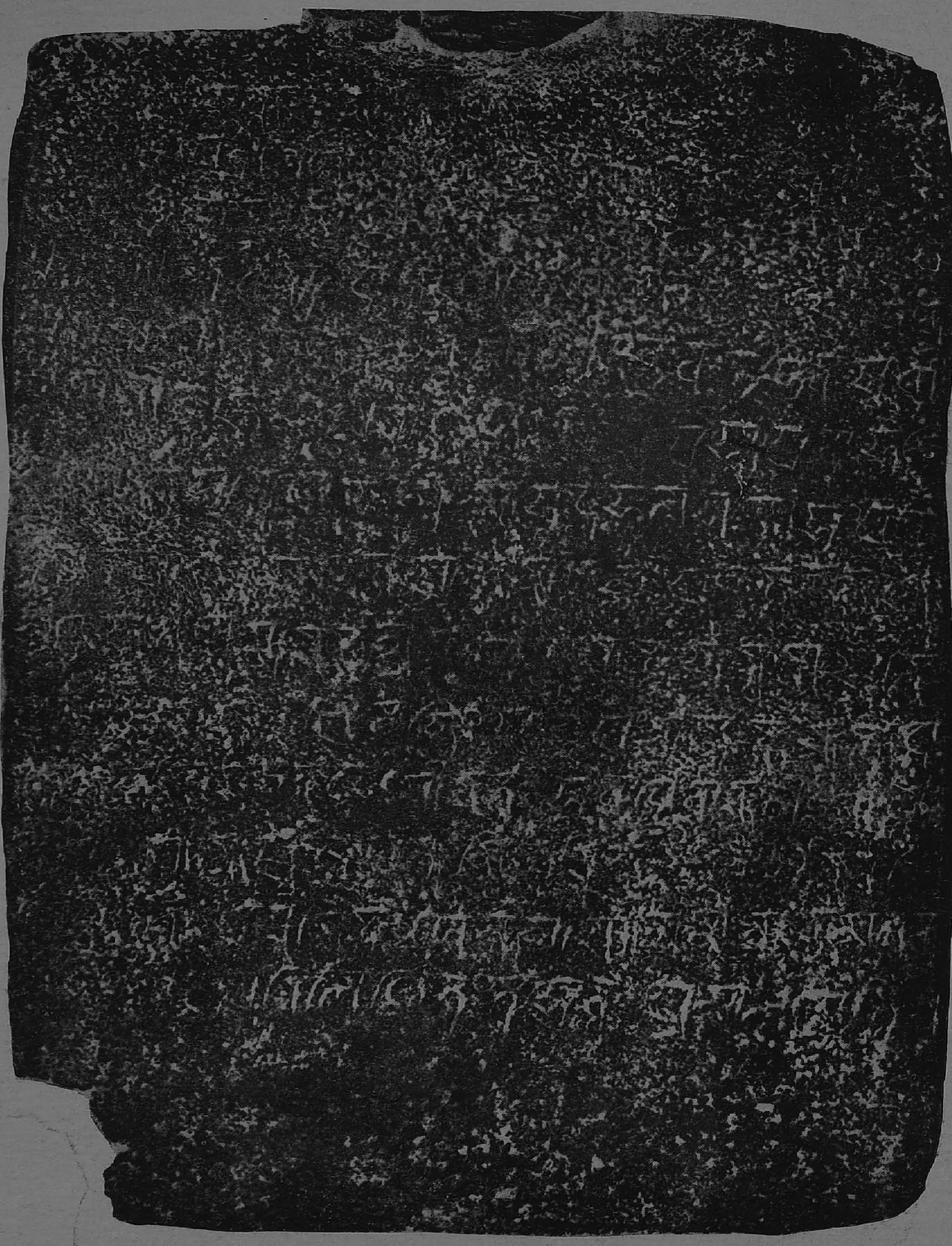
Obverse

i, a



i, b

Reverse



(From Photographs)

7 .... vaṁśē ripu-vana-dāvānala-khyā..

8 .... [nītō jātaḥ] śrī-**Kōṭṭabhañja-**nām-ākhyaḥ || śrēshṭhaḥ śrī-

9 ..... paksha-sāmanta-nṛipatiḥ sad-ārchchita-charaṇaḥ[1] [||4*] Śrī-

10 .. **[bhañja]-**ja(pa)ksha-[sthi]taḥ[2] tasya bhrātṛijaḥ sura-samō va(ba)-

11 ... [ri]shṭaḥ śūraḥ samunnata-yasā(śāḥ) pravijitya(ta-)śatru[ḥ] [||5*]

12 ... [dhi]shṭhirād=iv(ra iv)=ā[va]ni-pālani(nē) cha nityaṁ rataḥ [ku]sha(śa)la karmma.-

13 .. ktaḥ [||6*] Khiji[ṅga]kōṭṭa-vāsī Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapi[ta].-

14 . [| *] Śrī-**Durjayabhañjadēvaḥ** s-ā[nu]nayaṁ prāha bhūpalastasya[3] sutaḥ [||7*] [Khiji]-

15 ... [vā]sī Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapita-pāpō [|*] Bhañja-mahārājaḥ śrī-[**Rā**]-

16 . **[bhañja]dē[va]**[ḥ*] [ku]śa[lī] [||8*] sa(s-ā)nuna[ya*]ṁ prāha bhūpālaḥ(lān) [|*] [Nāmhāritra]-vi .

17 .. [jāṇī]-grāmaḥ Pā[gu]raśilāpā[ṭa]kaḥ prāg-vi[dita].

18 ... **[Vīkha]tī-**vinirggata-Kōshika[4]-gōtra Vi....

19 .... [la-pravara-bhaṭṭa-Ha]rimitrasya...

20 ....

Reverse

21 ....

22 ....

23 .... [chandr-ārka-kshi]ti-

24 .... bahubhir=vvasudhā

25 .. rājabhi[ḥ] sagarā[dibhīḥ][5] [| *] [yasya] yasya yadā bhū[miḥ]

26 [tasya] tasya [tadā pha]laṁ(lam) [||9*] Mā [bhūḥ] abhala-sa[ṅkā] su[6] para-

---

[1] See p. 237, note 5 above.

[2] The scribe probably intended to write *paksha-sthita* as in Plate A but probably being in the knowledge of the versions where in the identical place we get *jagat-prathitaḥ*, he seems to have got confused.

[3] Read °*bhūpālān*[||7*]*Tasya*.

[4] Read *Kuśika*°.

[5] Read *Sagar-ādibhiḥ*.

[6] Read *Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ*.

27 .... [t=pha] .... pa[ra]-da[tt-ānupā]-

28 ....[||10*] [m=pa]ra-dattāṁ vā [yō harēd=va][1]sundha[rāṁ |] sa vi-

29 ...... pi[rta](tṛi)bhiḥ [saha] pa[chyatē] [||11*] Hara[tē] hā-

30 .... [mō-vṛi]ta[ḥ] [| *] sa ba[ddhō] vāruṇaiḥ [pāśaiḥ]

31 .... [ni](nī)shu [jāyatē] [||12*]Kshi[ti]r=i[yaṁ] ...... [hi](hu)=

32 ..... [ri](rī)ra[m=i]da[ṁ cha] [vi]na[smara] || [13*] [Nyū]n-āksharam=adhi[kā]=

33 .... [pa]ri likhitaṁ ta[t]=sarvvaṁ pramāṇa[m]=iti ||

[1] Read *harēta va.°*

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CONTENTS

PLATES

No. 43—TWO EARLY BRAHMI RECORDS FROM AJANTA

(*1 Plate*)

A. Ghosh, New Delhi

(*Received on 30.3.1967*)

In August 1966, Professor Walter M. Spink of the University of Michigan, who has been intensively studying the renowned rock-cut caves at Ajaṇṭā, District Aurangabad, Maharashtra State, told me in conversation that he had noticed two partially exposed but unpublished records, one engraved and the other painted, in Cave 10 of **Ajaṇṭā.** Coming to know this, Shri M. C. Joshi, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, located and preliminarily studied whatever could be seen of the records at the time of his visit to Ajaṇṭā in December 1966. On return he informed me that one of the records (called here Record A) occurred on the wall of the cave and the other (Record B) on one of the (rock-cut) rafters of the cave-roof, both on the dexter side.

When Shri B. B. Lal, Joint Director General of Archaeology, and I visited Ajaṇṭā in January 1967, we found that only two letters at the beginning and four letters towards the end of Record A were partly visible, the rest being entirely hidden under a layer of plaster, which had been laid to serve as the ground for the paintings that the cave bears. Similarly hidden under a plaster-film was the middle part of the first line of Record B, though its second line was more distinct. We also noticed that, luckily from the point of view of the study of the records, the paintings over the plaster had in both the cases disappeared, so that nothing would be lost if the remnants of the plaster which obscured the records were removed. Accordingly, the plaster-layers were very carefully scraped off in our presence and the records were brought to the condition in which we see them now.

Cave 10, a *chaitya-gṛiha,* was excavated in the earlier (Sātavāhana[1]) phase of Ajaṇṭā, in the second century B .C., and bears paintings regarded as almost contemporary with its excavation, in addition to those of the later (Vākāṭaka) phase of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Prior to the discovery of the present two records, it was known to have an inscription and twentyone painted records, the former and one of the latter belonging to the earlier phase. The inscription, engraved above the sinister side of the entrance to the cave, commemorates the gift of the facade or entrance (*ghara-mukha*) by one Vāsiṭhīputa Kaṭahādi.[2] The second record, itself painted, is a part of the painted scene of the worship of a *stūpa* by the lord of the *nāgas*[3] which is painted on the dexter wall of the cave, farther in the interior than Record A ; it is noteworthy that the plaster which hid parts of Record A was an extension of the same plaster as the one on which the scene appears. The

---

[1] This usual dynastic appellation of the earlier phase of Ajaṇṭā is being retained here without such larger questions as the date of the beginning of Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan being raised.

[2] G. Bühler in Jas. Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV (1883), p. 116 and pl. LVI; correction by R. Otto Franke in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, band L (1896), p. 597. The word *ghara-mukha* has been appropriately translated as 'facade'. But *mukha* also means 'exit', cf. *mukhaṁ niḥsaraṇaṁ*, *Amarakōsha*, II, ii, 19, and therefore implicitly 'entrance' as well.

[3] G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. III (Oxford, 1916), plates, pl. XXVIII*a*, where, however, the painted record is not included.

record is of uncertain import; from the word *bhagavatasa* occurring in it, 'one thing, however, is clear and this is that this was not a votive record but served as an explanatory note of the scene represented in the painting which may have been from the life of the Buddha'.[1] It has been regarded as 'almost contemporary' or 'slightly later than'[2] Kaṭahādi's inscription. As we shall see below, its posteriority to the latter is well-established even on grounds other than palaeographical.

To come to our Records A and B, Record A, as stated above, is engraved and is, therefore, an inscription in the real sense of the word. It appears on the vertical part of the wall of the cave, between the second and fourth ribs of the roof, immediately below the spring-point of the vault, at a height of 2·57 m above the floor-level. It is a single-line inscription, 76 cm long, the height of the letters, which are large and bold like those in the inscription of Kaṭahādi, ranging from 5 to 8 cm. It records the gift of the wall (*bhiti*=Sanskrit *bhitti*) by one **Kanhaka,** who is qualified by the adjective *Bāhaḍa*, evidently meaning '(a resident) of Bāhaḍa'. As Kanha must have been a very common personal name, it would be too imaginative to identify this Kanhaka with the early Sātavāhana ruler Kanha[3] or with Kaṇha, son of Sama or Samasa[4] and a resident of Dhēnukākaṭa, or with Kanhadāsa who fashioned sculptures at Pitalkhora.[5]

Bāhaḍa also appears as a place-name in a Bharhut inscription.[6] My colleague Shri M. N. Deshpande suggests to me that it may be identified with Bahal in District Jalgaon in Maharashtra State, which had a flourishing settlement from the chalcolithic to the early historical times.[7]

Record B is painted in white on the first (rock-cut) rafter between the first and second ribs of the roof-vault of the cave, at a height of 4·11 m above the floor. It is in two lines, respectively 33 and 43 cm long, the range of the heights of the letters being the same as in Record A. At least two letters in the middle of the first line are indistinct. It says that the *pasādas* were the gift of one **Dhamadēva** who was a *pavajita* or mendicant. The second word in the first line was perhaps another adjective of the donor and might have given the name of the place from which he came.

The word *pasādā* requires some consideration. In its singular form it occurs in an inscription (*Dhamabhāgasa pasādō*) on a wooden rib of the vaulted roof of the Bhājā cave[8] and, including the variant *pasāta*, in three Udayagiri inscriptions.[9] In both the groups the meaning 'gift' or 'dedication' has been thought to be appropriate[10] (equating it to Sanskrit *prasāda* in its usual meaning). But such a meaning is ruled out in the present case, where it is followed by the word *d[ā]na*; surely, a second word to denote 'gift' or 'dedication' would be redundant. Nor would it be justified, at least in the present and Bhājā records, to correct the word to *pāsāda* (=Sanskrit *prāsāda*) and to take it to refer to the caves themselves in their entirety, for the following reasons. Either of the Ajaṇṭā and Bhājā donors could not have been responsible for the excavation of the whole of the respective

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[1] N. P. Chakravarti in ibid., text, p. 91.
[2] Ibid., pp. 86 and 90.
[3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 93, No. 22.
[4] M. N. Deshpande in *Ancient India*, No. 15 (1959), p. 76.
[5] Ibid., p. 82.
[6] H. Lüders, E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, pt. II (Ootacamund, 1963), p. 33.
[7] *Indian Archaeology 1956-57 — A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi, 1957), pp. 17-18. [The ancient name of Bāhal was Bahalāpuri from where the Mehunabare plates of Sēndraka Vairadēva dated in 702 A. D. were issued, cf. above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 193-97.— Ed.]
[8] M. N. Deshpande in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 6 (October, 1959), p. 31.
[9] R. D. Banerji in above, Vol. XIII, pp. 159 and 162.
[10] See particularly Sten Konow in above, *op. cit.*, p. 162, note 2.

cave. At Ajaṇṭā we know that two other persons, Kaṭahādi and Kanha, were the donors of the entrance-facade and the wall, so that no third person could have taken the credit for the entire cave. At Bhājā, in addition to Dhamabhāga's inscription, there is another dedicatory inscription on a second wooden rib, showing that the extent of the contribution of the donors was limited. Further, both Dhamadēva of Ajaṇṭā and Dhamabhāga of Bhājā would surely have chosen more conspicuous spots for commemorating their donations had they financed the excavation of the whole of the caves.

Basically significant are the places in the caves where donative records occur; compare, for example, the locations of the inscriptions of Kaṭahādi and Kanhaka, on the entrance-facade and the wall, for which they were respectively responsible. Both the Ajaṇṭā and Bhājā records with the word *pasāda* occur on ribs (actual wood at Bhājā and rock—fashioned in imitation of wood at Ajaṇṭā) of the vaulted roofs of the respective caves. It would, therefore, appear that *pasāda* has the restricted meaning of a roof-component of a structure,[1] though it is fully admitted that the word is not known to have this meaning clearly anywhere else.[2] And as in the present record the word is in the plural, the donor was responsible for more than one such component.

Both the present records are in Prakrit. Palaeographically, they belong to the second century B.C., which is the accepted date of the excavation of Cave 10. The relative chronology of the early records in the cave works out as follows. The inscription of Kaṭahādi on the entrance-facade and Records A and B form one group and must be of an identical date and coeval with the excavation of the cave, as they refer to the donation of different parts of the cave, the excavation of which was a homogeneous conception. As the first of these has been ascribed to the beginning of the second century B.C.[3]—a date from which I have no reason to differ, — the other two must be of the same date. And as Record A was largely covered by the stretch of the plaster on which the label-record with the words *bhagavatasa*, etc. occurs, the latter must be later than the first group. It is difficult to say what was the time-lag between the two, but it must have been sufficiently long, for to the artist who painted the scene of the worship of the *stūpa* with its label-record, Record A must have lost all importance as he had no compunction in sealing it up with his plaster. Nevertheless, the painted scene and its record are, on all considerations, of a date well within the same century.

It is also clear that painting the cave was not part of the original conception of the cave but was an afterthought. Had it been otherwise, Kanhaka would have engraved his inscription on a safer place which would be left unaffected by the painting.

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[1] If some speculation can be allowed, the word *prasāda* may be regarded as the corrupt form of *prachchhāda* (from root *chhad*, 'to cover'), meaning 'roof', 'roof-component' or 'roofing-material'. In the edicts of Aśōka there are instances of *chchha* becoming *sa*, intended for *ssa*; cf. *usatēna* (=Sanskrit *uchchhritēna*, 'by the exalted') in all the versions of Rock-edict X (except that at Kalsi, where it is *ushaṭēna*), and *usapāpitē* (=Sanskrit *uchchrāpitaḥ*, 'was raised') in the Rummindei and Niglīvā Pillar-edicts. In present-day Marāṭhī and Assamese and the eastern dialect of Bengali, the pronunciations of *cha* and *chha* have a distinct dental-sibilant element in them. Cf. John Beams, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages*, Vol. I (London, 1872), p. 72; Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1926), p. 143. A possible original genetic relationship between *prachchāda* and *prāsāda*, which latter has the well-established meaning of 'palace' (restrictedly a 'temple' or 'royal residence', cf. *prāsādō dēva-bhūbhujām*, *Amarakōsha*, II, ii 19), 'terrace', 'top-story of a lofty building', etc. and is authenticated as meaning 'a good place to sit on', cf. Pāṇini, VI, iii, 122, is anybody's guess.

[2] Benimadhab Barua's suggestion that *pāsāda* should refer to the facade only, on the ground that they sound alike, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri* and *Khandagiri Caves* (Calcutta, 1929), p. 82, is entirely ineffective and has to be rejected.

[3] N .P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

TEXTS[1]

A

Kanhakasa Bāhaḍasa dāna[ṁ*] bhiti[2] [||*]

B

Line 1 **Dhamadēvasa** [ma]. .nasa[3]

Line 2 pasādā d[ā]naṁ pavajitasa [||*]

P.S. : From a short note on the recent excavation of a *stūpa* at Pauni, District Bhanḍārā, Mahārāshṭra State, received by me from Professor S.B. Deo of the University of Nagpur, it appears that the word *pasāda* has been used in the sense of 'gift' in some inscriptions on cross-bars of the *stūpa*-railing. The same sense cannot be ruled out in our present record, though it is tautological to use it along with *dānaṁ*, as has been done here.

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[1] From the originals. The impression of Record A and photograph of Record B reproduced on the accompanying plate were prepared by the Photographer of the South-western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India.

[2] The vertical top part of the letter *t* rises as high as the top of *i-mātrā*, an unusual feature.

[3] There is a dot over the right side of *s*, but it may be just a remnant of the lime-plaster which covered the record and its adjoining surface.

TWO EARLY BRAHMI RECORDS FROM AJANTA

A



Scale : One-fourth

B

2  2

(From Photograph)

G. S. Gai

No. 44—NOTE ON RAJGHAT INSCRIPTION OF BHIMADEVA

D. C. Sircar, Calcutta

(*Received on 17.5.1967*)

The Rājghāṭ (Vārāṇasī, U. P.) inscription of Bhīmadēva, described as the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of the lord of the Gauḍa country, was published by me, above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 277-82 and plate. The purpose of the inscription, assignable on palaeographical grounds to the twelfth century A D., is to record the construction of a Śiva temple at Vārāṇasī by Bhīmadēva, while verse 5 states that the said Bhīmadēva saved the kingdom of Gauḍa-Varēndra after it had been immersed, like an old sinking vessel, in the waters of the ocean that was the forces of the king of the Rāyāri lineage and the lord of Kaliṅga.

My observations on the construction of a temple at Vārāṇasī by a minister of the Gauḍa king, as recorded in the epigraph, may be summarised as follows. Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, Vijayasēna occupied the whole of Bengal, and Pāla rule henceforth was confined to toe southern areas of Bihar. King Madanapāla (1143-61 A. D.) was ousted from Gauḍa-Varēndra (the western and northern regions of Bengal) soon after the issue of his Manahali plate from the city of Rāmāvatī (between the Gaṅgā and the Karatōyā) in his eighth regnal year (c. 1151 A.D.), though the Pāla king was still called *Gauḍēśvara*. The Patna-Monghyr region was occupied by the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra (1115-55 A.D.) of Vārāṇasī and had remained in his possession in 1124-46 A.D., but was reoccupied by Madanapāla about the year 1146 A.D. "It is not impossible that the Pāla king Madanapāla, who had some success against the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras, was Bhīmadēva's master. Bhīmadēva's presence at Banaras may thus relate to a temporary occupation of Banaras by the Pāla king."[1]

Indeed this is the most satisfactory among the various conjectural suggestions offered in the paper, and it is a matter of regret that, in the above context, I failed to suggest the identification (which now appears to be so apparent) of the said Bhīmadēva, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of the Gauḍa king, with Madanapāla's minister of the same name who was the *Dūtaka* of the Manahali charter and is mentioned in that record as *Sāndhivigrahika* Bhīmadēva.[2] Whether *Sāndhivigrahika* and *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* were meant to be the same official designation, or Bhīmadēva was at first the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Madanapāla, but was later promoted to the post of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* sometime after the eighth regnal year of the Pāla king is difficult to say, though the second alternative is preferable. But there can be little doubt about the identity of Bhīmadēva of the Manahali plate and the Rājghāṭ inscription. This identification seems to throw welcome light on certain aspects of the history of the Later Pālas.

It appears that Madanapāla succeeded in recovering the western districts of Bihar from the Gāhaḍavālas about 1146 A. D. while he occupied Vārāṇasī sometime after 1151 A. D., so that his successful struggle with the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra lasted for several years. Whereas he must have received considerable help from his vassals (including Vijayasēna) in the Gāhaḍavāla struggle (which necessarily increased the Sēna ruler's power and prestige), the Pāla king's attention on the eastern regions of his empire was necessarily lesser than his concentration on his western

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 279.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1639.

enemy, and this was one of the important factors that must have led to the occupation of Bengal by Vijayasēna (who died in c. 1159 A.D.) sometime after 1151 A.D.

Madanapāla was succeeded by Gōvindapāla who ruled in the Patna-Gaya region (probably including the Monghyr area also) for about four years (c. 1161-65 A.D.) and was then ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas. The people of Western Bihar disliked the Gāhaḍavāla conquerors of their homeland (probably owing to their atrocities) and continued to date their records in the 'lost, past or destroyed sovereignty' of Gōvindapāla instead of using the reckoning of the Gāhaḍavāla kings.[1] The successor of Gōvindapāla was Palapāla who ruled for about 35 years (c. 1165-1199 A. D.) probably over the Monghyr District. An image (now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) is known to have been installed in the 35th regnal year of Palapāla at the city of Champā (near modern Bhagalpur), though it is said (probably wrongly) to have been discovered at a place near Lakhisarai in the western part of the Monghyr District. During Palapāla's reign the rule of Ballālasēna (1159-79 A. D.), son of Vijayasēna, was acknowledged in the Bhagalpur District in the Sēna king's ninth regnal year (c. 1168 A.D.), while Ballāla's son Lakshmaṇasēna (c. 1179-1206 A.D.) is stated to have defeated the king of Kāśī (Vārāṇasī)[2] and Lakshmaṇa's son claims to have raised pillars of victory at Vārāṇasī and Prayāga (Allahabad)[3] in clear allusion to his military success against the Gāhaḍavāla king (probably Jayachchandra, 1171-93 A. D.) apparently during his father's reign, long before Lakshmaṇa's defeat at the hands of the Turkish Muhammadans. Another interesting fact to be remembered in this connection is that, as in the case of Gōvindapāla, the people of the Gaya region started the use of Lakshmaṇasēna's 'past sovereignty' reckoning.[4] This shows that the said territory once formed a part of Lakshmaṇasēna's dominions, the Pāla king ruling over parts of Bihar then being apparently no better than a subordinate ally of the Sēna monarch. It is not impossible that the weak Pāla king sought the help of the Sēnas in the task of defending Western Bihar from Gāhaḍavāla attacks and that the Sēnas conquered Western Bihar from the Gāhaḍavālas and apparently also temporarily occupied parts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh ; Western Bihar was made a part of the Sēna empire for a few years, but was soon reconquered by the Gāhaḍavālas. This is the period when the Jaynagar image was installed in the 35th year of Palapāla's reign.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 234-36. The Gāhaḍavālas used the Vikrama-saṁvat.

[2] Ibid. Vol. XXVI, p. 6, text, lines 19-20; N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 111, line 20.

[3] Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 316. Viśvarūpasēna was apparently the commander of the Sēna army invading the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom during Lakshmaṇasēna's reign.

[4] Ibid. Vol. XXXV, p. 236.

No. 45—THANA PLATES OF SILAHARA NAGARJUNA, SAKA 961

(*1 Plate*)

M. G. DIKSHIT, BOMBAY[1]

(*Received on 15.9.1966*)

The **set** of a copper plate grant, comprising **three plates**, complete with its ring and seal, was discovered in a locality known as Panch-Pākhāḍi on the outskirts of the town of Ṭhāṇa in April, 1965. It was found in a small tank in the plot belonging to Messers Shakti Printing and Dyeing Works Private Ltd. The set was brought to my notice by Dr. V. G. Dighe, M.A., Ph.D. At his suggestion the proprietors of the concern forwarded it to me for study and decipherment. It is edited here for the first time with the permission of the Manager of the concern. The plates are now preserved in the office of the Director of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay.

Each plate of the set measures about 22·5×17·5 cm strung together by means of a copper ring, 1 cm thick and about 6 cm in diameter. The ends of this ring are soldered into the socket of a circular seal about 5·5 cm in diameter. This seal has an ornamental border of beads and inset on its upper surface in high relief is a figure of Garuḍa seated in *padmāsana* pose with his hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. This figure is very beautifully modelled and shows high artistic merits.

The inscription consists of eighty-eight lines of writing, distributed over the inner side of the first plate, both the sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate. Each side contains twenty-two lines. The rims of the plates are slightly raised to protect the inscription they bear and the writing is, therefore, in an excellent state of preservation. The plates weigh 3250 g together with the seal and the ring.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, representative for the period to which the inscription is assigned and call for no special remarks. The grant is written in Sanskrit **language** both in prose and verse. The writing is comparatively free from mistakes. As regards the **orthography** it may be stated that *s* and *ś* are generally well-distinguished but are confused with each other in some places. *B* is invariably written as *v*. There are a few examples of wrong *sandhi*. The *upadhmānīya* sign is substituted by *sh* in lines 60 and 63. There is a tendency for the doubling of consonants after *r*.

The plates belong to the **Śilāhāra** ruler **Nāgārjuna** who is already known to us through other copper plate grants and literary sources. It is well known that the northern branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty ruled from Ṭhāṇā and held its sway over the whole of Koṅkaṇ of which Purī was the capital. The dynasty had three successive rulers, *viz.* Chchhittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi who were uterine brothers. Of Chchhittarāja and Mummuṇi several records have been discovered.[2] It would

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[1] [We regret to record the sad demise of the author while this article was going through the press.—Ed.]

[2] These are as follows :

For Chchhittarāja:

(1) Bhoighar Plates (transcript only), Śaka 946 (*Mahārāshṭrāntīl Tāmrapaṭ Va Śilālēkh*, pp. 32-45).
(2) Bhandup Plates, Śaka 948 (above, Vol. XII, pp. 250-68).
(3) Dive-Āgar (unpublished) Plates, Śaka 949 (*A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, App. A, No. 47).
(4) Chinchani Plates of Mōḍha Chāmuṇḍarāja, a vassal of Chchhittarāja, Śaka 956 (above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 63-68).
(5) Berlin Museum Plates, Śaka 956 (*Z. D. M. G.*, (90), pp. 265-97).

For Mummuṇi :

(6) Ṭhāṇā Plates, Śaka 970, Mirashi (*Saṁśōdhana Muktāvali*, 3, pp. 115-141).
(7) Prince of Wales Museum Plates, Śaka 971 (above Vol. XXV, pp. 53-63).
(8) Dive-Āgar (unpublished) Plates, Śaka 975 (*A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, App. A, No. 48).
(9) Ambarnath temple inscription, Śaka 982 (*JBBRAS.*, Vol. IX, p. 219; XII, p. 320).

appear that both of them had no male issue and the Śilāhāra throne after the death of Mummuṇi came to Anantapāla,[1] son of Nāgārjuna. The last known date of Chchhittarāja is Śaka 956 and the earliest date for Mummuṇi from inscriptional evidence is Śaka 970. So far, no inscription of Nāgārjuna has been found though the name usually occurs in the Śilāhāra records.[2] Soḍḍhala, named in his well-known *Champūkāvya Udayasundarīkathā*, mentions that Chchhittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi ruled in succession.[3] The discovery of the present plates of Nāgārjuna with the new date furnished by them, *viz.* Śaka 961, therefore, gives us an important link between the two rulers. This is the only known inscription directly attesting to the rule of Nāgārjuna.

King Nāgārjuna is endowed with the usual titles, found in the Śilāhāra charters. The new titles which he is known to have assumed from this charter are *Kōdaṇḍa-Sahasrārjuna* and *Narēndra-Nāgārjuna*, which are not met with elsewhere. His Chief Minister was one Daddhappaiya and his Minister for War and Peace was one Sōḍhala.[4]

The charter was written by one Jōgapaiya, who is described as the brother's son of the great poet Nāgalaiya. He is also the writer of the Bhandup plates[5] (Śaka 948) of Chchhittarāja and seems to have continued in office later in the reign of Mummuṇi also till Śaka 970 as mentioned in the latter's Ṭhāṇā Plates.[6] His name is not heard of after this as the Prince of Wales Museum Plates[7] dated Śaka 971, are written by Nāgalaiya, probably the poet himself.

The **object** of the inscription is to record a grant by the king Nāgārjuna to a Brāhmaṇa named Mādhava Paṇḍita, son of Gōkarṇṇa Paṇḍita belonging to the Pārāśara *gōtra*, and the Yajurvēda *śākhā*. He is stated to have migrated from Hastigrāma in the Madhya-dēśa. The donation was made for the performance of religious duties, for the daily sacrifices and for the maintenance of his family as well as for the merit of the king.

The record is dated **Śaka 961** (expressed in words and figures) **Pramāthi Saṁvatsara, on the 15th day in the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa, Wednesday,** on the occasion of a **solar eclipse**. These details regularly correspond[8] to the **27th August, A.D. 1039**, when there was a solar eclipse as stated.

The plates use a standard Śilāhāra draft and none of the verses appears to be new. Thus verses 1-17 (lines 1-29) and 18-20 (lines 29-35) in the *praśasti* portion are exactly identical with verses 1-17 (lines 1-27) and 19-21 (lines 29-32) of the Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Mummuṇi, Śaka 971, referred to above.

The donated property consisted of a plot of land in a village called **Muṁjavali** situated in the subdivision of **Kōriyala 12.** The details regarding the boundaries are given as follows : the plot was bounded on the east by a *Madhuka* (*Latifolia Madhuka*) tree, the *rāja-mārgga* (highway),

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[1] Kharepatan Plates of Anantapāla, Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33).

[2] It is found practically in all the post-Nāgārjuna copper plate grants of the dynasty.

[3] च्छित्तराजेन संभूषितो नागार्जुनेन संमानितो मुम्मुणिनरेश्वरेणेति सोदरेण क्रमोपभुक्तराज्यसंपदा.
Soḍḍhala, *Udayasundarīkathā* (*G. O. S.*, XI), p. 12 (Baroda 1920).

[4] It would be interesting to examine if this Sōḍhala could be indentified with the author of *Udayasundarīkathā*; but it does not seem likely. The latter's family held the office of *Dhruva* (*i.e. Dhruvādhikaraṇa*) and not that of a *Sāndhivigrahika*.

[5] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 250-68. He is also mentioned in the Bhoighar Plates of Śaka 946; but of these plates the original is not forthcoming and only a kind of transcript is available.

[6] *Saṁśōdhana Muktāvali*, Vol. IV, pp. 115-41.

[7] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 53-63.

[8] S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 81.

a *vōḍaṇa* as well as an *Udumbara* (*Ficus Religiosa*) tree and a *jhōti*, situated on the border of the village Dōṇā. On the south it was bounded by a *pipparī* (*Ficus Tsiela*) tree and a *badarī* (Jujube) tree and an embankment bordering on the outskirts of the village **Vāiṁgaṇī.** On the west it was bounded by a *madhuka* and *udumbara* trees outlying the village **Dhavalā.** On the north it was bounded by the river near the village **Kuḍisavarā**, a rock and a *viraïkā*.

The plates contain several expressions which are of **lexical interest.** While stating the boundaries the text uses some words which are akin to the modern Koṅkaṇi or Marāṭhī dialect. The word *vōḍaṇa* (line 64) corresponds to modern *ondaṇa* which means deep rice-field as would accommodate a large quantity of water. Another word in the same context is *jhōti*. This word is used in modern Marāṭhī in the sense of a large stream or a water-shed.[1] Another word is *varalī* which is used for a small embankment across a rice field for retention of water. This word also occurs in the Ṭhāṇā charter of Śilāhāra Mummuṇi, dated Śaka 970. Another *dēśi* word is *khaḍaka* meaning rock (line 66) and we again come across the word *viraïkā*, a diminutive of *viraka* meaning a banana[1] grove. I have already drawn attention to this meaning of the word while explaining a number of geographical and topographical terms occurring in the above mentioned Ṭhāṇā charter and published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XII, pp. 272-73.

Of special interest is the expression *pūrvaprasidhyā bhaṭṭhōkāsādi sahitaḥ* in connection with the right governing the property mentioned in line 68. The word *bhaṭṭha* corresponds to the modern *bhāṭ* in Marāṭhī and signifies a low land in which inferior crops are grown and is subjected to the waves of the sea in high tide and therefore unsuitable for good cultivation. *Ukkāsa* is a fallow uncultivable land, barren on account of rocky soil. The injunction, therefore, is against the watering of land both due to bad soil and its inundation in salty water. It is of interest to know that the word *bhaṭṭha* also occurs in the Bhandup plates of Śilāhāra Chchhittarāja,[2] Śaka 948 (line 42). Fleet read the word correctly in his text while editing this inscription but considered *bhaṭṭha* as a mistake for *bhaṭṭa*.[3] This, as explained above, is not the case. The Bhandup plates referred to a *bhaṭṭha-kshētra*, apparently a field standing on high eminence. The word *bhāṭ* also occurs in the Valipattana plates[4] of Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja, Śaka 932, and the context makes it clear that the *bhāṭ* was situated near the sea. The expression used here is *boribhāṭā samīpa samudraḥ dēśaḥ*.

As regards the **geographical names** mentioned in the grant Koṅkaṇa and its capital Puri and Tagara from which the Śilāhāras claim their descent (line 35) are only too well-known. Madhyadēśa is apparently a portion of Central India, but Hastigrāma from where the donee is said to have migrated cannot be identified with certainty. The clue to the donated village and its boundaries is furnished by the name Vāiṁgaṇī which is to be identified with Vāngni, a small railway station on the Bombay-Poona line of the Central Railway. The donated village Muṁjavali is now a deserted site situated in between the Vāngni railway station and the Vāngni village which lies 2 miles south of it. Dōṇā, said to be situated on the east of the donated village, is represented by a village of the same name being about 1·5 miles away in the indicated direction. Vāiṁgaṇī is of course Vāngni, about 5 miles to the south. Village Dhavalā, said to be on the east, still retains its old name and lies about 1 mile to the east. Lastly Kuḍisavarā, a village to the north of the donated village, lies about 2 miles in the same direction. The river mentioned in the inscription is no other than Ulhāsa, though not mentioned by name. The name of this river is given as Ulasa in the Ṭhāṇā charter of Mummuṇi. Thus most of the villages mentioned in the grant can be satisfactorily

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[1] *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōsha*, Vol. III, p. 1369.

[2] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 250 ff.

[3] Ibid., p. 264, foot-note 3.

[4] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 203 ff.

identified in the directions mentioned. Kōriyala, which was the head-quarters of a group of 12 villages, cannot satisfactorily be identified, but in all probability it is represented by modern Gorela or Goriyali which lies about 2 miles to the west of Vāngni railway station.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 11, 12, 18, 22, 24-28, 30-33 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 3-5, 15 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Pṛithvī* ; verses 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 8 *Sragdharā* ; verse 13 *Āryā* ; verses 17, 23, *Indravajrā* ; verse 20 *Mālinī* ; verse 21 *Vaṁśastha* ; verse 29 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2] जयश्चाभ्युदयश्च ।। लभते सर्व्वकार्येषु पूजया गणनायकः । विघ्नं निघ्नन्स वः

2 पायादपायाद्गणनायकः ॥[१॥*] स वः पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जाह्नवी । सुमेरुसि(शि)-

3 खरोद्गच्छदच्छचन्द्रकलोपमा ॥[२॥*] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्ज्जीमूतवाहन इति त्रिजग-

4 त्प्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं तृणमिवाकलयन्परार्थे यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात्खलु सं(शं)खचूडं(डम्) ॥[३॥*] तस्यान्वये नि-

5 खिलभूपतिमौलिनूत्नरत्नद्युतिच्छुरितनिर्म्मलपादपीठः । श्रीसाहसाङ्क इव साहसिकः कपर्द्दी सी-

6 लारवंस(श)तिलको नृपतिर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव ॥[४॥*] तस्मादभूच्च तनयः पुलशक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुरगुरूदितरा-

7 जनीतेः । निर्ज्जित्य संगरमुखेखिलवैरिवर्ग्गं निष्कण्टकं जगति राज्यमकारि येन ॥[५॥*] ततो-

8 पि समभूत्सुतो नृपसि(शि)रोविभूषामणिः सितः सृणिरिवापरोरिकरिणां कपर्द्दी लघुः । य-

9 दीययशसा जगत्यतिशयेन शुक्लीकृते न भाति सुरवारणो न च शसी(शी) म(न) दुग्धाम्वु(म्बु)धिः ॥[६॥*] तस्मा-

[1] From the original plates and impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

i



ii a

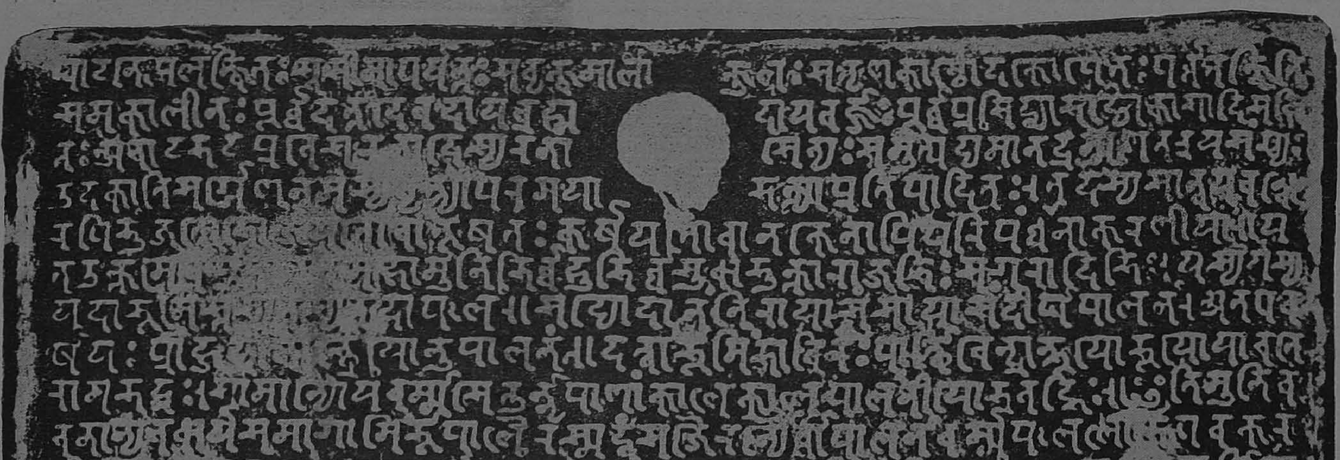


G. S. Gai

ii b



iii



Two thirds

10 दप्यभवद्विभूतिपदवीपात्रं पवित्रीकृताशेषक्ष्मावलयो महीपतिलकः श्रीवप्पुवन्नः

11 सुतः । संग्रामांगणरंगिणासिलतया लूनैकदन्ता हठात्सर्व्वे येन विनायका विरचिता

12 विद्वेषिणां दन्तिनः ॥[७॥*] तस्माज्जातस्तनूजो रजनिकर इवानंदिताशेष-
लोक[:*] श्लाध्यः श्रीझं-

13 झराजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःशेषदोषः । सं(शं)भोर्यो द्वादशापि व्यरचय-
दचिरात्कीर्त्तनानि

14 स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव मन्ये प्रणततनुभृतां स्वर्ग्गमार्ग्गोद्यतानां(नाम्) ॥[८॥*]
भ्राता तत्र ततस्ततोज्व(ज्ज्व)लय-

15 शोराशिप्रकाशीकृताशेषक्ष्मावलयो व(ब)ली व(ब)लवतां श्रीगोग्गिराजोऽभवत् ।
चापाकर्षणक-

16 र्म्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिन्गते भूपतौ भीष्मद्रोणपृथासुतप्रभृतयश्चित्ते
चमत्कारिताः ॥[९॥*] तस्माद्वि-

17 स्मयकारिहारिचरितप्रख्यातकीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्जडदेवभूपतिरभूद्भू चक्रचूडामणिः ।
दो-

18 र्द्दण्डैकव(ब)लस्य[1] यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगांगणे राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि
रतिं चक्रे मुरारेरिव ॥[१०॥*]

19 जयन्त इव वृत्रारेः पुरारेरिव षण्मुखः । ततः श्रीमानभूत्पुत्रः सच्चरित्रो-
पराजितः ॥[११॥*]

20 कर्ण्णस्त्यागेन यः साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापाद्दीप्तिमार्त्तण्डः
कालदण्डस्च(श्च) यो द्वि-

21 षां(षाम्) ॥[१२॥*] स(श)रणागतसामन्ता अपरा अपि जगति रक्षिता
येन । स जयति यथार्त्थ(र्थ)नामा

22 स(श)रणागतवज्रपंजरो देवः ॥[१३॥*] येन स्वागतमागताय विहितं
गोम्माय नानाविधं येने-

[1] Read बलेन [This correction is not necessary—Ed.]

Second Plate, First Side

23 वैयपदेवनाम्नि चलितं राज्यं स्थिरं कारितं(तम्)। भिल्लम्माम्ममणम्वु(म्बु)-
वक्षितिभुजां दत्तं च येना-

24 भयं तस्य श्रीवि(बि)रुदंकरामनृपतेरन्यत्किमावर्ण्ण्यते ॥[१४॥*] तस्माद्व(द्ब)भूव
भुवि वज्जड-

25 देवनामा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयज्ञः। अद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जनाः
सम-

26 स्ता रोमांचकंचुकितगात्रलता स्तुवन्ति ॥[१५॥*] तद्भ्राताथ ततोरिकेसरि-
नृपो जातः स-

27 तां सम्मतो दृप्तारातिकुलाचलैकदलने दंभोलिलीलां दधत्। गत्वा सैस(शैश)व
एव सैन्यसहि-

28 तो दृष्ट्वा च सोमेस्व(श्व)रं तस्याग्रे पितुराज्ञया जगदलं यः कीलयित्वा
गतः ॥[१६॥*] तद्भ्रातृजो वज्जडदेव-

29 सूनुः श्रीच्छित्तराजो नृपतिर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव। सीलारवंसः(शः) सिसु(शिशु)नापि
येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥[१७॥*]

30 हतारिनारीनेत्रांभस्सेकसम्व(संव)र्द्धनादिव। व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपं यस्य कीर्त्तिवल्ल्यधि-
रोहति ॥[१८॥*] दृप्ताराति-

31 षु कोपकालदहनः सौभाग्यनारायणो वारस्त्रीषु ततोनुजः समभवन्नागार्जुनः क्ष्मा-

32 पतिः। यस्यामानुषमूर्ज्जितं भुजव(ब)लं दूरान्निस(श)म्य द्विषां निद्रातीव
रणांगणव्यसनिनी

33 दोर्द्दण्डकण्डूलता ॥[१९॥*] यदसमसिवि(शिबि)रान्तर्म्मत्तगन्धेभदानप्रसरदनिल-
शुष्यत्स्रो(त्स्रो)तसो

34 दिग्गजेन्द्राः। अरिनगरविदाहोद्दामदिग्व्यापिधूमप्रसरभयनिमीलल्लोचनान्युन्मिष-

35 न्ति ॥[२०॥*] अथ स्वकीयपुण्योदयात्समधिगतपंचमहाशव्द(ब्द)महासामन्ताधिपति-
तगरपुरपरमेस्व(श्व)-

36 रश्रीसीलारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसुवर्ण्णगरुडध्वजसहजविद्याधरकोदण्डसह-

37 श्रा(स्रा)र्जुननरेन्द्रनागार्जुनत्यागजगझम्पशरणागतवज्रपंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलीवि-

38 राजितमहामण्डलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमन्नागार्जुनराजदेवे निजभुजोपार्ज्जितानेकमण्डलसमे-

39 तं पुरीप्रमुखच[तु*]र्द्दशग्रामस(श)तीसमन्वितसमस्तकोंकणभुवं समनुशासति तथै-
तद्राज्यचिन्ता-

40 भारमुद्वहति महामात्यश्रीदद्धपैये तथा महाशा(सा)न्धिविग्रहिकश्रीसोढलैये
सत्येतस्मिन्का-

41 ले प्रवर्त्तमाने स च महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमन्नागार्जुनराजदेवः सर्व्वानेव
स्वसम्व(म्ब)ध्यमानकानन्या-

42 नपि समागामिराजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहितामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाननियोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविषयप-

43 तिनगरपतिग्रामपतिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदांस्तथा हंयमननगरपौरत्रिवर्ग्गप्र-

44 भृती(तीं)श्च प्रणतिपूजासत्कारसमादेसैः(शैः) संदिस(श)त्यस्तु वः संविदितं
यथा ॥ चला विभूतिः क्षण-

Second Plate, Second Side

45 भंगि यौवनं कृतान्तदन्तान्तरवर्त्ति जीवितं । तथाप्यवज्ञा परलोकसाधने
नृणामहो विस्म-

46 यकारि चेष्टितं(तम्) ॥[२१॥*] तथा चान्तर्ल्लीनजराराक्षसीप्रारव्ध(ब्ध)ग्रासं
यौवनं स्वर्ग्गवासान्नरकपातस-

47 ममिष्टसमागमवियोगदुःखकदलीगर्भवदसारः संसारः । सहजजरामरणसाधार-

48 णकं शरीरं पवनचलितकमलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरे धनायुषी इति मत्वा दृढत-

49 रविरक्तिवु(बु)द्धया संगृह्योच्छञ्च[1] दानफलं(लम्) ॥ कृतत्रेताद्वापरेषु तपोत्यर्थं
प्रस(श)स्यते । मुनयोत्र तु

[1] Read संगृह्योक्तं च.

50 संशंति[1] दानमेकं कलौ युगे ॥[२२॥*] तथा चोक्तं भगवता व्याशे(से)न [।।*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्ण-

51 वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः। लोकत्रयन्तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीञ्च दद्यात् ॥[२३॥*] आस्फो-

52 टयन्ति पितरः प्रवलगन्ति पितामहाः। भूमिदोस्मत्कुले जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति ॥[२४॥*] भूमि-

53 दानं सुपात्रेषु सुतीर्त्थेषु सुपर्व्वसु। अगाधापारसंसारसागरोत्तारणं भवेत् ॥[२५॥*] धवलान्या-

54 तपत्राणि दन्तिनश्च मदोद्धताः। भूमिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्ग्गे पुरंदरः ॥[२६॥*] इति धर्म्माधर्म्मवि-

55 चारचतुरचिरन्तनमुनिवचनान्यवधार्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्त्थिना मया शकनृपकालातीत

56 सम्वत्सरस(श)तेषु नवसु एकषष्टयधिकेषु प्रमाथी(थि)सम्व(संव)त्सरान्तर्ग्गत-श्राम्व(व)ण-वदि पंचदस्या(श्यां) यत्रांकतोपि सम्व(संव)-

57 त् ९६१ श्राम्व(व)ण वदि १५ वु(बु)धे संजातसूर्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि सुतीर्त्थे स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडामणये कम-

58 लिनीकामुकाय भगवते सवित्रे नानाविधकुसुमश्लाघ्यमर्धं दत्वा सकलसुरासुरगुरुं त्रैलोक्यस्वामि-

59 नं भगवन्तमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्च्य यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्म्मनिरताय क्रतुक्रिया-काण्डसौ(शौ)ण्डा-

60 य परमब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे महाब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय हस्तिग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय मध्यदेसा(शा)न्त-ᳵपाति[2] पारास(श)रगोत्राय यजुर्व्वेदशा-

61 खिने माधवपण्डिताय गोकर्ण्णपण्डितसुताय यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्म्म-करणाय व(ब)लि-

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[1] Read शंसंति.

[2] [Read मध्यदेशान्तᳵपातिहस्तिग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय.—Ed.]

62 चरुकंवैस्व(श्व)देवाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियाद्युपसर्प्पणार्त्थं स्वपरिग्रहपोषणार्त्थं च कोरियल-
द्वादशकान्त-

63 ⌒ पाति मुंजवलीग्रामः [।*] यस्य चाघाटनानि [।*] पूर्व्वतः दोणाग्रामसीमासंधौ
मधुकवृक्षः तथा राज-

64 मार्ग्गः तथा वोडणं तथा उदुम्व(म्ब)रवृक्षः तथा झोतिश्च ॥ दक्षिणतः
वाइंगणीग्रामसीमाशं(सं)-

65 धौ वंवे पिप्परी तथा व(ब)दरी वरली च ॥ पश्चिमतो धवलाग्राम-
सीमासंधौ उदुम्व(म्ब)रवृक्षः तथा

66 मधूकवृक्षश्च ॥ उत्तरतः कुडिसवराग्रामसीमासंधौ नदी तथा खडकविरइका
च ॥ एवं चतुरा-

Third Plate

67 घाटनोपलक्षितः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सतृणकाष्ठोदकोपेतः पर्व्वतक्षिति-

68 समकालीनः पूर्व्वदत्तदेवदायत्र(ब्र)ह्मदायवर्ज्जः पूर्व्वप्रसिद्धया भट्ठौकासादिसहि-

69 तः अचाटभटप्रवेशः र(अ)नादेस्य(श्यः)र(अ)नासेध्यः समुत्पद्यमानद्रम्मशतत्रयसंख्यः

70 उदकातिसर्ग्गेण नमस्यवृत्त्या परमया भक्त्या प्रतिपादितः। तदस्य
सान्वय . .

71 रपि भुंजतो भोजयतो वा कृषतः कर्षयतो वा न केनापि परिपंथना
करणीया ॥ य-

72 त उक्तमेव पुरातनमहामुनिभिर्व्व(भिः ॥ ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य

73 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[२७॥*] सद्यादानं निरायासं
सायासं दीर्घपालनं। अत एव-

74 र्षयः प्राहुर्द्दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥[२८॥*] दत्वा भूमिं भाविनः
पार्त्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते

75 रामभद्रः। सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्न्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो
भवद्भिः ॥[२९॥*] इति मुनिव-

76 चनान्यवधार्य समागामिभूपालैरस्मद्वंस(श)जैरन्यैर्व्वा पालनं धर्म्मफललोभ एव कर-

77 णीयः। न पुनस्तल्लोपनपापकलंकाग्रेसरेण केनापि भवितव्यं(व्यम्)। यस्त्वेवमभ्यर्थितो-

78 पि लोभादज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा स पंचभि-

79 र्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च लिप्तो रौरवमहारौरवान्धतामिश्रा(स्रा)दिनरकांश्चिरमनुभ-

80 विष्यति॥ तथा चोक्तं भगवता व्याशे(से)न॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्)।

81 स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ॥[३०॥*] विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासि-

82 नः। महाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[३१॥*] गामेकां स्वर्ण्णमेकम्वा(कं वा) भूमेरप्येकमं-

83 गुलं(लम्)। हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतस(सं)प्लवं(वम्) ॥[३२॥*] षष्ठि(ष्टि)र्व्व(व)र्ष- सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमि-

84 दः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[३३॥*] यथा चैतदेव तथा शासनदाता ले-

85 खकहस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति। यथा मतं मम महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)र-श्रीमन्नागार्जुनराजदे-

86 वस्य महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमद्वज्जडदेवराजसूनोर्यदत्र शासने लिखितं(तम्)। लिखितं चैतन्म-

87 या श्रीमद्राजानुज्ञया भाण्डागारसेनश्रीजोगपैयेल भाण्डागारसेनमहाकविश्रीनागलै-

88 यभ्रातृसूनुना। यदत्रोनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरम्वा(रं वा) तत्सर्वं प्रमाणमिति॥ मंगलमिति॥ श्रीः॥

No. 46—TWO BHANJA GRANTS IN THE ORISSA STATE MUSEUM

(*3 Plates*)

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(*Received on 8.12.1965*)

The two copper-plate inscriptions edited below are now deposited in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Their impressions were secured by me when I visited Bhubaneswar in December 1964 in the course of my collection tour. They are referred to here as **A** and **B** for the sake of convenience. They have been published in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XI, respectively on pp. 155 ff. and pp. 9 ff. with facsimiles. But as these articles contain some inaccuracies both in the reading of the texts and in the interpretation of the contents of the records, they are edited in the following pages.

A.—Aidā Plates of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, Year [50]

This charter[1] is stated to have been discovered at the village **Aidā**, six miles from Aṭhamallik, Athamallik Sub-Division, Dhenkanal District, Orissa. It consists of **three plates**, each measuring about 8.7 cm high and 10.5 cm broad. The plates are strung together to a circular ring with a diameter of 6.2 cm and a thickness of .8 cm. The ends of the ring are soldered to a lump of metal which is fashioned at its top into an oval seal. The latter has a knob-like projection at its top representing the sun, a crescent-like symbol below it representing the moon, the legend reading *Śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvasya* below the latter and the figure of a couchant bull facing proper right at the bottom. All these various designs are worked in relief. The plates are fairly intact, except for some slight cracks seen at the top and bottom edges of the first plate, and a defect noticed at about the middle on the proper left end of the second side of the second plate. The rims of the plates are raised only slightly but the writing is on the whole satisfactorily preserved. The first and the third plates have writing on one side while the second plate has writing on both sides. There are altogether 45 lines of writing distributed as follows: 11 lines on the first side, 12 lines on each of the second and third sides and 10 lines on the fourth side. The plates weigh 1578 g, and the ring with seal weighs 308 g.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 10th-11th century used in Kaliṅga, and closely resemble those of the Pāṭnā Museum plates of the 22nd year[2] and the Baud plates of the 26th year[3] of *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja, who is the issuer of the record under study and also those of the Sonpur plates,[4] the genuineness of which is doubted by the editor of the plates.[5] The characters of our record can be compared with those of the Binkā plates[6] of the same king. It may be noted that

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. A 43.

[2] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff., and plate.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff., and plate between pp. 326-27.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.

[5] Ibid., In fact the charter could as well have been issued by Raṇabhañja and the omission of the verse containing his name may be attributed to the carelessness of the engraver which is also evidenced by a number of mistakes in the text. This assumption is supported by the palaeography of the charter and also by the mention of Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi, as the engraver of the record. He figures in the same capacity in most of the other charters of Raṇabhañja.

[6] *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 167 ff. and plates, where the letters have been doctored.

the characters of our record are considerably different from those of the Jagati (Baudh) plates[1] of the 54th year of a Raṇabhañja identified with the king of the present plates, the difference being especially noticeable in the opened-up top of such letters as *p*, *m*, *s* and *sh* and the forms of letters like *k*, *ch*, *j*, *ṭ*, etc. of the latter. Of initial vowels, our record employs *a* (lines 9, 12-13, 17, 21, 38, 41), *ā* (lines 7, 29-31), *i* (lines 8, 15, 18, 23, 41), *ī* (line 40), *u* (lines 14, 21, 36, 39, 43), *ṛi* (line 28) and *ē* (lines 29, 38). The final consonants used here are *ch* (line 26), *ṭh* (line 3), *t* (lines 5, 9, 11, 18, 27, 38), *n* (lines 16-18, 27) and *m* (line 18).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition which is partly in verse and partly in prose is defective in spelling, grammar, etc. in several places. As regards the **orthography**, the following points are noteworthy. The letter *b* is invariably indicated by the sign for *v*; *anusvāra* is used in the place of nasal *n*, e.g. *balavāṁ nṛipō* for *balavān=nṛipō* (line 5), *Bhagavāṁ abhinandanti* for *Bhagavān=abhinandanti* (line 31) and *haraṁ narakam* for *haran=narakam* (line 35), but the nasal *ṅ* is used for *anusvāra* in °*vaṅśa* for *vaṁśa* (lines 13, 26); *s* is used for *ś* in some places (lines 18, 30), *s* is used for *sh* in line 16; and *sandhi* has not been observed in lines 21, 32, etc. The influence of the local pronunciation is seen in the spelling of *māhārājakīya* (line 44) for *mahārājakīya* and this peculiarity is generally noticed in the records of this period from this area.

The **date** of the record is given as *vijaya-rājyē sāmvara-namamē* (line 43). Obviously, there is some mistake in this passage. The Sonpur plates[2] of king Raṇabhañja who issued the present charter, have a similar passage reading *vijaya-rājya-samvachchhara namamē*. There the last word of the expression, viz. *namamē*, has been corrected into *navamē* and accordingly the year has been taken to be nine. On this analogy, the expression referred to above relating to the date of the record under study will also mean nine. But there is also the possibility of taking the date to have been expressed according to the *kaṭapayādi* system in which case the expression *nama-mē* would represent *50-mē* (i e. *pañchāśattamē*). The latter seems to be more probable as the records of this king upto his 26th year describe him as a *paramavaishṇava* while the Jagati plates dated in his 54th year describe him as a *paramamāhēśvara* as the present plates do. Thus according to this method, the date of our record and the Sonpur plates would then be **50**, not nine, which will go to strengthen the view regarding the faith of the king.[3] It may be noted that the dates in the records of this king are given in a variety of ways, e.g. the Binkā plates[4] give the date as *sō(shō)ḍaś-āvdē(bdē) shaḍ-divaśē(sē)*, and the Pāṭnā Museum plates,[5] give as *indu-vvāg-vviśanti variśē*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Rāṇaka* **Raṇabhañja**, son of **Śatrubhañja** and grandson of **Śilābhañja.** This king is identical with the homonymous king of the several other records of the early Bhañja dynasty. The expression *asya pitā nṛipasya* in verse 3 tempts one to assume that Śilābhañja himself was the father of the *nṛipa*, the issuer of the charter, i.e. Raṇabhañja. Then the expression *tasy=ātmajaḥ* in verse 4 would make Śatrubhañja, a son of Raṇabhañja. But the latter case is improbable since, if this was intended, the composer would

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[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff., and plate between pp. 322-23.

[2] *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 481 ff., without facsimile; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1492. The king is described in the record as a *paramamāhēśvara* whereas Bhandarkar in his list has wrongly quoted the record as referring to the king as *paramavaishṇava*.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 274. The view expressed here seems to have been based on the wrong information on the faith of the king given in Bhandarkar's List, No. 1492. The record, the text of which is given in *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 483 ff., describes the king as *paramamāhēśvara* (see ibid., p. 484, text line 3 of the second plate, front side).

[4] *JBORS*, Vol. II, p. 177; Bhandarkar's List No. 1493.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 100 and note 4; Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 2055.

have used the same word *asya* here also rather than *tasya*. So, we have to assume that *asya* in the earlier case refers to only Śatrubhañja.[1]

The record begins with the symbols for *Siddham* and *Ōm* followed by the word *Svasti*, usually met with in the records of this king except in the case of the Jagati plates where the record commences with the symbol for *Siddham* only followed by the word *Siddhi*. Lines 1-9 contain four verses two of which refer to Śilābhañja and his son Śatrubhañja. Then follows a prose passage in lines 9-11 praising a Bhañja king. Then follows in line 12 the mention of the city of **Dhṛitipura** from where apparently the charter was issued. In lines 12-15 is the usual description of *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja which states that he was born in Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa, was a *paramamāhēśvara*, was devoted to the feet of his parents, was a *Bhañjāmalakulatilaka*, was the lord of **Ubhaya-Khiñjali**, had obtained the title *pañchamahāśabda*, was praised by the *mahāsāmantas*, and was blessed by the boon from Stambhēśvarī. The passage that follows (lines 15-18) contains a list of officials of the Khiñjali-maṇḍala to whom the king addressed an order. The contents of the order (lines 18-24) relate to the grant made by the king on the **occasion of a lunar eclipse** for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his parents and of himself of the village **Vārigāmā** to *Bhaṭaputra Paṇḍita* Varada, who belonged to Vatsa-gōtra with five *pravaras*, to Chhandōga-charaṇa, and to Kauthuma-śākhā, who had hailed from Tālahṛitakī-grāma of Varēndra-maṇḍala and was residing at the village Tari, and who was the son of *Bhaṭa* Śavara and grandson of *Bhaṭa* Iyāka. The gift village is stated to be attached to **Rōirā-vishaya** and was on the banks of the river **Mōra**. The gift was accompanied by the right to *nidhi* and *upanidhi* and was to be enjoyed by the donee hereditarily. As in the other records of this dynasty, there is no mention made of the other privileges generally associated with such gifts, nor of the village having been made rent-free (*akarī-kṛitya*). Then follows the king's injunction (lines 24-26) to the effect that no one should cause even a slight hindrance in respect of the gift, evidently in its enjoyment by the donee. Lines 27-43 contain fifteen of the usual imprecatory verses. The date of the record discussed above is contained in line 43. Lines 43-44 state that the record was engraved by *Vaṇika Suvarṇṇakāra* Pāṇḍika, son of Gōnā and that it was marked with the royal seal.

As regards the identification of the engraver Pāṇḍika, it is not known whether he is identical with Pāṇḍi who figures as the father of Śivanāga, the engraver of the Binkā plates,[2] Sonpur plates,[3] Chakradharpur plates,[4] Landore plates[5] and of the Pāṭnā Museum plates[6] and as the father of Padmanābha, the engraver of the Sonpur plates[7] all belonging to the reign of king Raṇabhañja. It seems, however, likely that Pāṇḍika of our record is different from Pāṇḍi referred to above, from the point of view of the mere difference in the spellings of these two names. The name Pāṇḍika, with the diminutive suffix *ka*, indicates that the person was considered Pāṇḍi, the younger,

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[1] There is the mention of śrī-Gandhaṭa in the place of śrī-Śilābhañja in the Jagati plates (above, Vol. XII, p. 323). The verse describing both being identical, we can assume that Gandhaṭa was rather the original name of Śilābhañja. Since the expression *śrī-Gandhaṭa* suits the metre of the verse rather than *śrī-Śilābhanja*, it is apparent that this *praśasti* was composed before the assumption of the name śrī-Śilābhañja by śrī-Gandhaṭa (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 274-75). In this case, the passage referring to Śatrubhañja should be presumed to have been omitted by the scribe through carelessness. In the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja (*JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 332 ff.), the occurrence of the name śrī-Āṅgaḍi (the reading *Āṅgaddi* may be wrong when we consider the doctoring of the letters in the facsimile) in the identical place further suggests that it was another name of śrī-Gandhata.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1493.

[3] Ibid., No. 1491.

[4] Ibid., No. 1494.

[5] Ibid., No. 1495.

[6] Ibid., No. 2055.

[7] Ibid., No. 1492.

meaning in all probability that he was the grandson of Pāṇḍi, the father of Śivanāga, through another son named Gōṇā, of the former. At this juncture, it may be considered whether *Ārkaśāli* Gōṇāka of the Jagati plates of the 54th year[1] was connected with the *Vaṇika Suvarṇṇakāra* family to which Śivanāga, Padmanābha and Pāṇḍika referred to above belonged. Supposing that when Gōṇāka became the *Ārkaśāli* he discarded the epithets *Vaṇika* and *Suvarṇṇakāra* of his family, it is not unlikely that he was a member of this family. If this is accepted, then on the analogy of Pāṇḍika being Pāṇḍi, the younger, Gōṇāka may be considered to be Gōṇā, the younger, i.e. the grandson of Gōṇā, evidently the one who is mentioned in our record as the father of Pāṇḍika. In this case Gōṇāka would become either the son of the latter or of one of his brothers. From the foregoing, we come to know of four generations of the *Vaṇika Suvarṇṇakāra* family.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, Dhṛitipura, Ubhaya-Khiñjali and Khiñjali-maṇḍala are known from several records of this Bhañja family. The Rōirā-vishaya is apparently the same as the Rōyarā-vishaya of the Sonpur plates[2], probably of the time of *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja, stated to be situated on the borders of Sonpur State. The place Rōyarā itself is said to be not far off from Aṭhamallik, the findspot of the present record.[3] The Varēndra-maṇḍala is already known from several records and is identical with Northern Bengal. The gift village Vārigāmā, and the villages Tālahṛitakī-grāma and Tari-grāma are difficult to identify. The Mōra-nadi (Mayūra-nadī) is probably the Murura-jhōr (Murura-nadī = Mayūra-nadī),[4] a small rivulet joining the Teṅgra river which itself is a tributary of the Brahmani river.

TEXT[5]

[Metres: Verses 1-3 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 5-18 *Anushṭubh*; verse 19 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[6] Ōṁ[6] Svasti | Saṁhāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-saṁbhrānta-kiṅkara-kṛitānta-nitānta-bhī(bhi)naṁ(nnam) [|*]

2 bhinā(nn-ā)ndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātapatra(traṁ) | [7] tad-bhairavaṁ Hara-vapuḥ[8] bhavataḥ prapātu || [1*] Durvvāra-vāraṇa-ra-

3 ṇa-pratipakshā(ksha)-Lla(La)kshmī-haṭh(ṭha)-grahaṇa-suprasṛita-pratāpā[ḥ*] || (|) Bhañjān-arādhipatayō va(ba)havō va(ba)bhūva(vu)-

4 r=udbhūtayō=tra bhuvi bhūri sahasra-saṁkhyā[ḥ*] || [2*][9] Tēshāṁ kulē sakala-bhūtala-pāla-mauli-māl-ārchchitā(t-āṁ)-

5 ghra(ghri)-yugalō va(ba)lavāṁ[10] nṛipō=bhūt || (|) śrī-**Śī(Śi)lābhañja**-dēva-prakaṭa-paurusha-**raśmi**-chakra-nirdd[ā]-

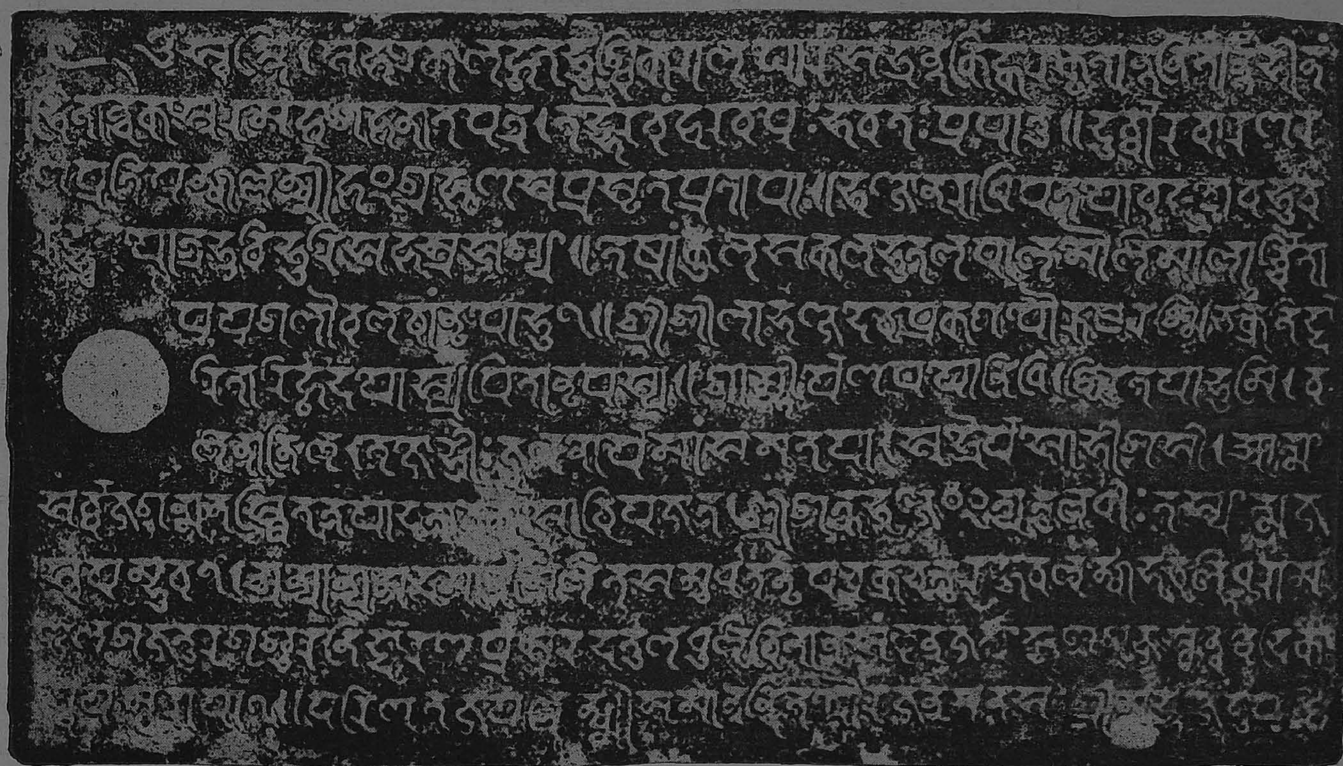
6 rit-āri-hṛidayō=sya pitā nṛipasya || [3*] Gāmbhīryēṇa payō-nidhi[ḥ*] |[7] thi(sthi)**ratayā**-bhūmi[ḥ*] |[7] va(ba)-

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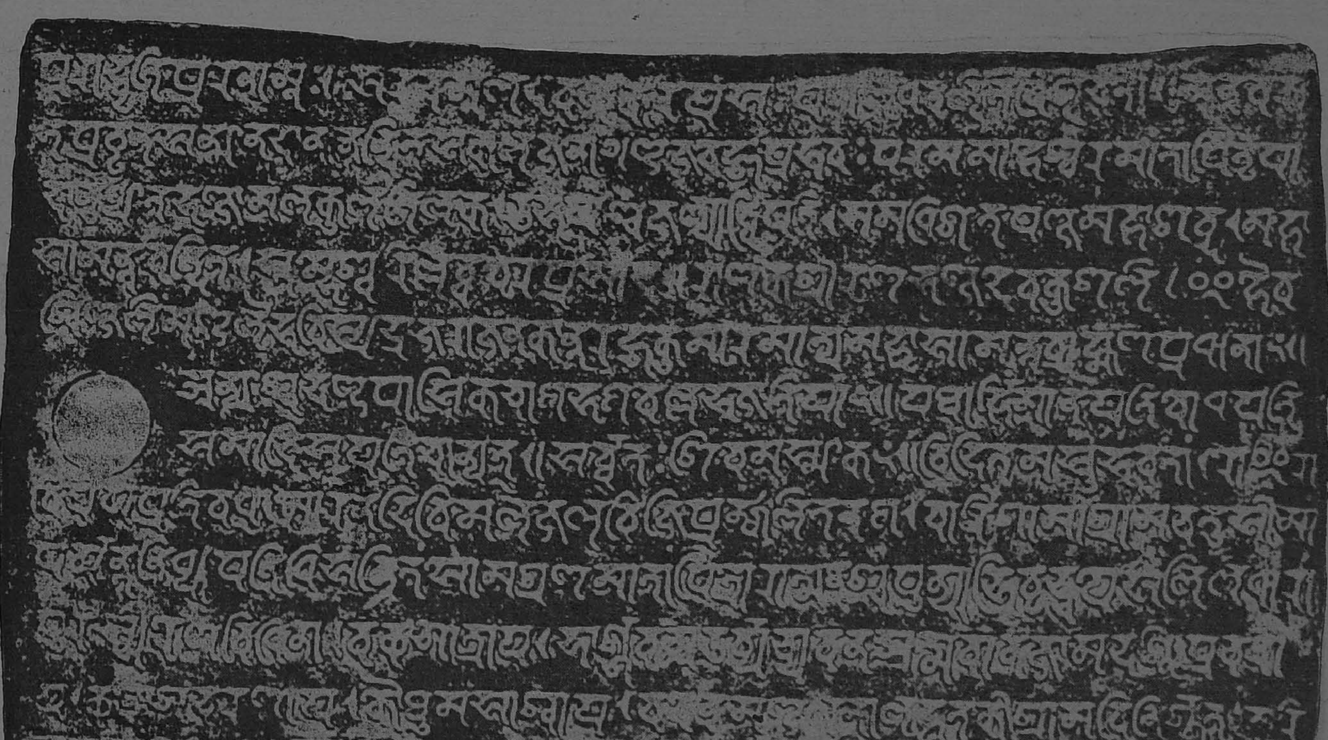
[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 325.
[2] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.
[3] Ibid., p. 101.
[4] See map of Orissa and the Tributary States, near about the intersection of 85 E. and 21 N.
[5] From impressions.
[6] Expressed by a symbol.
[7] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
[8] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[9] This and the following two verses are metrically defective.
[10] Read *balavān=nṛipō*°.

A—Aidā Plates of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, year [50]

i

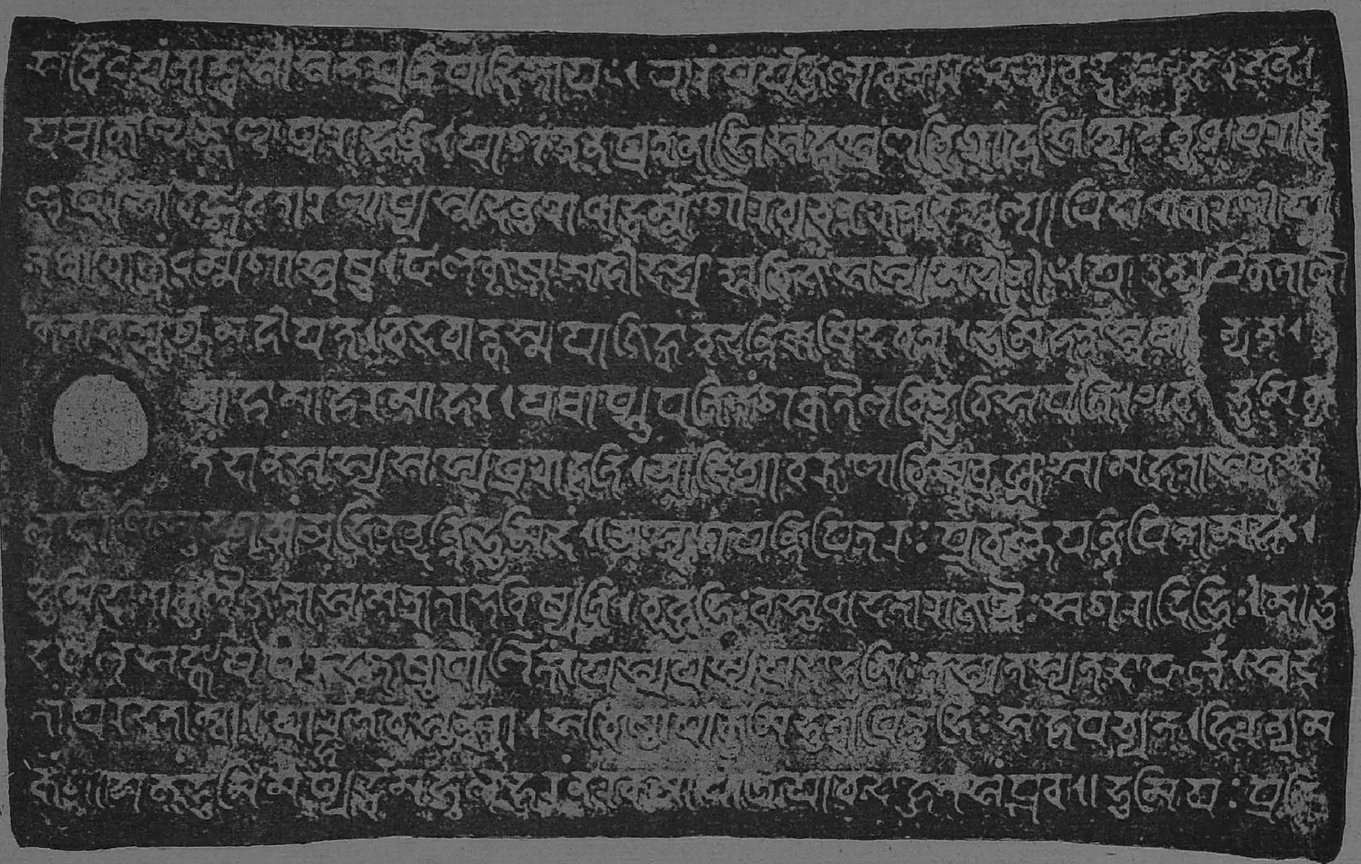


ii a

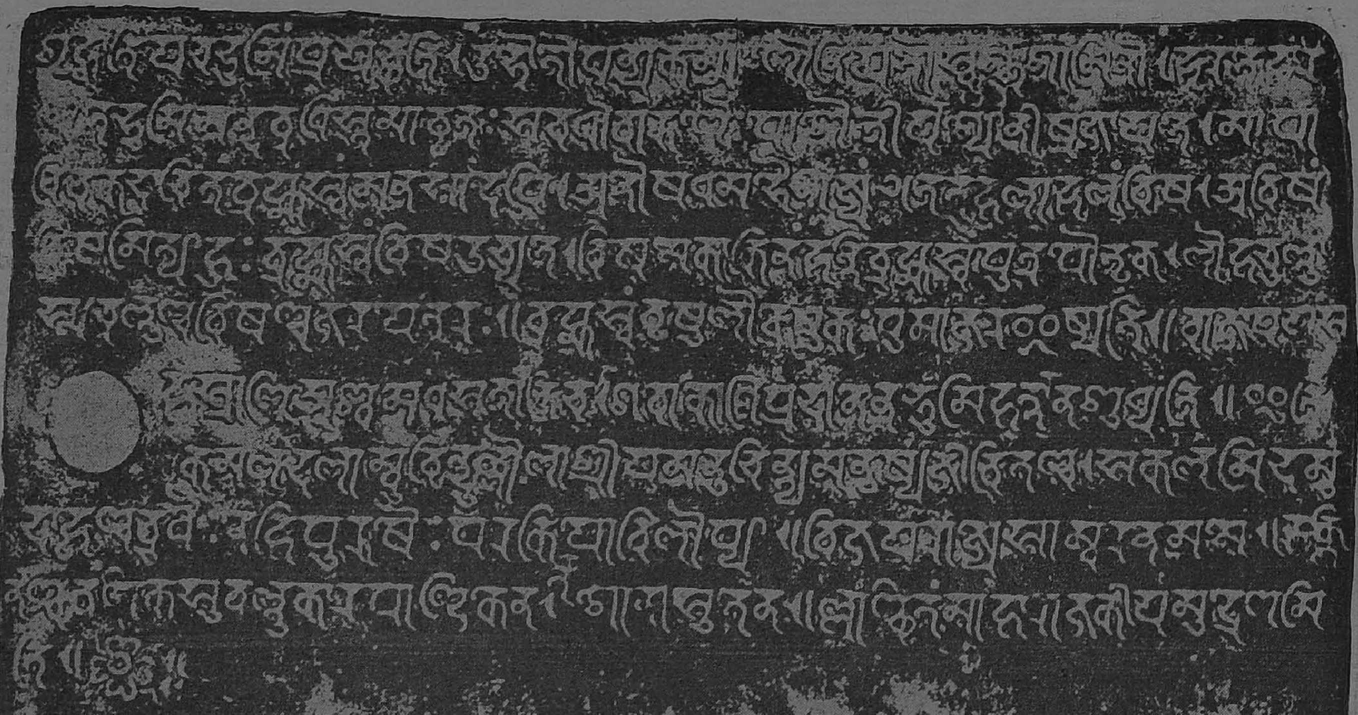


G. S. Gai

ii b



iii



Scale : Five-sixths

7 lēn=Ānila[ḥ*] tējōbhīḥ(bhiḥ) j[v]alanō=ryamāṁ(m=ā)samatayā |[1] su(śu)bhrair=yasō(śō)bhī(bhi)-[ḥ*][1] śasī(śī) | ātmā

8 sarvva-jagan-mana-sthitatayā dat[t*]-āvakāsō(śō) viya[j*]=jāta[ḥ*] |[1] śrī-**Śatrubhañja** ity=atulaḥ-dhīḥ tasy=ātmaja[s*]=

9 svayambhūvat | [|4*] Anyōnya-mada-māna-milita-samudha(ddha)ta-nṛipa-chakra-chatur-aṅga-va(ba)la-kshōbha-chalita-dharā-ma-

10 ṇḍala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarad-atula-dhu(dhū)li-vītāna-saṁchhana(nna)-jany-āṅgaṇa-gaja-[ska]ndha-vēdikā[ṁ*]

11 svayamvarāyāt ||[2] pariṇata-Jayalakshmī-samānandita-paura-jana-manasaḥ śrīmad-Bhañja-[bhū]patiḥ]

Second plate, First Side

12 purād=**Dhṛitipura**-nāmnaḥ || [Śa]rad-amala-dhavala-kara-yasa(śa)ḥ-paṭala-dhavalita-dig-vadanō ||[1] anavara-

13 ta-pravṛita(tta)-sanmāna-dān-ānandita-sakala-janō Aṇḍaja-vaṅśa(ṁśa)-prabhavaḥ para-mamāhēśvara(rō) mātā-pitṛi-pā-

14 d-ānudhyāta(tō) Bhañjāmalakulatilaka[ḥ*] | **Ubhaya-[Khiṁ]jaly**-āddhi(adhi)pati[ḥ*] | samadhigata-pañchamahāśavda(bda)[ḥ*] | mahā-

15 sāmanta-vandita[ḥ*] | Stambhēśvarīllavdha[3]-vara-prasāda[ḥ*] || Rāṇaka-śrī-**Raṇabhañja** **dēva[ḥ*]** kuśali(lī) | ih=aiva

16 **Khiñjali-maṇḍalē** bhavisya(shya)d-rāja-rāja(jā)nak-āntaraṅga-kumāra(r-ā)mātya-mahā-sāmanta-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-pradhānān ||[1]

17 anyā[ṁ*]ś=cha daṇḍapāsi(śi)ka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jāti(tī)yān || yathārhiṁ(rhaṁ) mānayati vō(bō)dhayati

18 samādiśaya(śya)ti ch=ānyān || sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākam || viditam=astu bhavatāṁ | **Rōïrā-**

19 **vishaya**-prativa(ba)dhu(ddhō) |[1] **Mōra**-nadi-vimala-jala-viji(vīchi)-prakshālita-taṭa(ṭō)|[1] **Vāṇigāmā**-grāma[ḥ*] chatu[s*]-sīmā-

20 paryanta[ḥ*] nidhy-upanidhi-sahitaṁ(taḥ) **sōma-gra[ha*]ṇa(ṇē)** mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇyā(ṇy-ā)bhivṛiddhayē salila-dhārā-

21 [purassa]rēṇa vidhinā | Vachha(tsa)-gōtrāya | Bhārggava-Aü(Au)rvya-Chyavana[4]-A(Ā)tnua-(pnu)-vāna-Jāmadagni-pravarā-

22 ya | Chhandōga-charaṇāya | Kauthuma-sā(śā)khāya | **Varēnd[r]a-maṇḍala-Tālahṛitalī-grāma**-vinirggata(tā)[ya*] | **Tari-**

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[1] This punctuation is superfluous.

[2] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous. Read *svayaṁvar-āyātapariṇata.*

[3] Read *Stambhēśvarī-labdha.*

[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

23 **grāma**-vāstavya(vyā) [ya*] | Bhaṭaputra Pā[ṇḍi]tya[1] Varada(dā)[ya*] | [2] Bhaṭa-Śavara-sutāya | [2] Bhaṭa-Iyāka-naptrē vidhi-vidhānēna

Second Plate, Second Side

24 sa-vi[dhē]yaṁ tāmvra(mbra)-sā(śā)sana[ḥ*] pratipāditō=yan(yam) | pāramparya-[ku]lāva-[tārēṇa] [yā]vad=vē[d-ārtha-vachanēna] |

25 yathā kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍā[t*]-prarōhanti | yā śatēna pratanōsi(shi) sahasrēṇa virōhasi(sī)[3]=ty=ēva[ṁ*] vu(bu)dhvā parārddha-

26 ñ=cha paratōvaṁśā(ṁś-ā)vatārēṇ=āpy=asmad-anurōdhād=dharmma-gauravāch=[cha*] na kēnachit=[sva]lp=āpi vā(bā)dhā karaṇīyā |

27 Tathā ch=ōktaṁ dharmma-śāstrēshu | pha(ha)lakṛishṭā[ṁ*] mahīṁ dadyāt=savi(bī)jāṁ sasyamēdinīn(nīm) | yāvat=sūrya-kṛitālō-

28 kā(kā)[ḥ*] tāvat=svarggē mahīyatē | [| 5*] Vēdavatkasmayō[4] jihvā vadanti ṛishi-dēvatā[ḥ*] | bhūmi-harttās(ttā) tath=ānya[t=cha(ch=chha)] ||[5]

29 āhō mā hara mā hara | [| 6*] Yath=āpsu patitaṁ Śakra taila-vi(bi)ndu visarpati | ēvaṁ bhūmi-kṛi-

30 taṁ dānaṁ sasyē sasyē prarōhati | [| 7*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇu[ḥ*] Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāsa(śa)naḥ [|*] [Śū]-

31 lapāṇis=tu Bhagavāṁ[6] abhinandanti bhūmidaṁ(dam) | [| 8*] A(Ā)sphōṭayanti pitaraḥ pravalgayanti pitāmaha(hā)ḥ |

32 bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā(ta)[ḥ*] sa mē trātā bhavishyati | [| 9*] Va(Ba)hubhiḥ[7] vasudhā datā(ttā) rājānaiḥ[8] Sagar-ādibhiḥ | mā bhū-

33 d=aphala-sa(śa)ṅkā ya(vaḥ) para-datē(ttē)shu pālitaṁ(tē) | [9] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ[7] tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) | [|10*] Sva-da-

34 tā[ṁ](ttāṁ) para-datā(ttā)ṁ=vā | [2] yō ha[10]rēta vasundharā[m*] | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimi[r*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē | [|11*] Hiranya(ṇya)m=ē-

35 kaṁ gām=ēkaṁ(kīṁ) bhūmim(mēr)=apy=arddham=aṅga(ṅgu)laṁ [|*] haraṁ narakam[11]=āyāti yāvad=āhūtaṁ(ta)-saṁplavā(vam) || [12*] Bhūmi[ṁ*] yaḥ prati-

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[1] The intended word seems to be *Paṇḍita*.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] The passage from *kāṇḍāt°* upto *virōhasī* is from the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* of the Kṛishṇa-yajurvēda (see *Ānandāśrama Saṁskṛita Granthāvaliḥ*, No. 36, pp. 799-800) with the omission of the passage *ēshā nō dūrvē pratanu sahasrēṇa śatēna cha*.

[4] Read *Vēdavāk-smṛityō°*.

[5] These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[6] Read *Bhagavān=abhi°*.

[7] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[8] Read *rājabhiḥ*.

[9] This half of the verse inserted here by mistake belongs to an independent verse of which the other half, viz. *svadattāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ paradatt=ānupālanē* | has been omitted. In its place should come the following half of a verse beginning with *yasya*.

[10] This *ha* is written below the line.

[11] Read *haran=narakam*.

Third Plate

36 grihnā(hṇā)ti ya[ś*]=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau punya(ṇya)-karmmāṇau niyatau svargga-gāminau || [13*] Haratē hāra-

37 yatē bhūmi[ṁ*] manda-vu(bu)dhi(ddhi)s=tama(mō)-vṛitaḥ | sa va(ba)dhō(ddhō) Vāruṇaiḥ pāśaiḥ tī(ti)ryag-yōnīshu jāyatē | [| 14*] Mā pā-

38 [r]thiva kadāchitaṁ(t=tvaṁ) vra(bra)hmasvaṁ manasā da(ha)pi(ra) | anaushadham=abhaiśa-(sha)jyaṁ ētat ha(hā)lāhalaṁ visha[m*] | [| 15*] Avishaṁ[1]

39 visham=ity=āhuḥ vra(bra)hmasvaṁ visha[2]uchyatē | visham=ēkākinaṁ hanti vra(bra)hmasvaṁ putra-pautri(tri)ka[m*] | [| 16*] Lōha-chūrṇṇ-ā-

40 sma(śma)-chūrṇṇañ=cha vishañ=cha jarayē[n]=naraḥ ||[3] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ tri(tri)shu-lōkēshu kaḥ pumā[n*] jaraïshyati[4] || [17*] Vājapēya-sa-

41 hasrāṇi aśvamēdha-sa(śa)tāni cha | gavā[ṁ*] kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || [18*] Iti

42 kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-llōlā[5] Śrī(Śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=u-

43 dāhṛi[ta*]ñ=cha budhaiḥ na hi purushaiḥ paraki(kī)rta[6](rtta)yō vilōpyā[ḥ*] || [19*] Vijaya-rājyē **sā(sa)mva[tsa*]ra-namamē** || utki(tkī)-

44 rṇa(ṛṇa)ñ=cha vaṇika-suvarṇṇakāra Pāṇḍikēna | Gōnā-sutēna || Llā(Lā)ñchhitaṁ mā(ma)hā-rājakīya-mudrēṇam[7]=i-

45 ti || ||[8]

B.—Grant of Nēṭṭabhañjadēva II—Pṛithvīkalaśa

This copper-plate inscription[9] is stated to have been discovered in the Nayagarh Sub-Division, Puri District, Orissa, and its exact findspot is not known. The charter consists of three plates, each measuring about 9·2 cm high and 16·3 cm broad. The plates are strung together to a circular ring with a diameter of 7·2 cm and a thickness of ·7 cm. The ends of this ring are soldered on to an oval seal which bears the figure of a couchant lion which is, however, not clear on account of encrustation. It may be pointed out here that the Bhañja family, when it had its headquarters at Dhṛitipura, had the couchant bull as the emblem on its seals while, when it moved to Vañjulvaka, the lion became its emblem. The right end of the first plate where there is writing is damaged and the middle plate is also damaged at its left end near the ring-hole. The first plate has

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1 Read *Na vishaṁ*.

2 Read *visham=uchyatē*.

3 One *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

4 Read *jarayishyati*.

5 Read *bindu-lōlāṁ*.

6 The letter *rta* is engraved below the line.

7 Read °*mudrēṇ=ēti*.

8 A floral design is engraved between the pair of double *daṇḍas*.

9 *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. A 44.

writing on one side only, while the other two plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 42 lines of writing distributed as follows: I-9 lines, II-a-10 lines, II-b-9 lines, III-a-9 lines and III-b 5 lines. The rims of the plates have been raised slightly and the writing has been preserved satisfactorily except for small patches of corrosion noticed here and there on the inscribed sides of the plates. The three plates together weigh 1188 g and the ring with seal weighs 318 g.

The **characters** belong to the east Indian variety of Northern Alphabet and are similar to those of several records of the Bhañja family of Vañjulvaka as for instance the three Gañjām plates[1] and the two other grants[2] in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. They are assignable to the 10th-11th century.[3] A point of interest in the charter under study is that the *avagraha*[4] is employed once in line 42. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, as in the case of the other records of this family, it has the usual errors of spelling and influence of local pronunciation.

There is no date in the record but the *tha*-like letter and the symbol resembling the one for *Siddham* following it, after the word *iti* in line 37, have been taken together to stand for the date *917* by the author of the article on this record mentioned above,[5] which is clearly wrong. The *tha*-like letter[6] seems to stand for a full-stop, indicating the conclusion of the first section of the charter and the *Siddham* symbol is intended apparently to indicate the commencement of the second section of the charter.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja* **Nēṭṭabhañjadēva,** son of **Vidyādhara-bhañjadēva,** grandson of **Śilābhañjadēva** and great-grandson of **Digbhañjadēva.** While the father and other ancestors of the issuer of the charter are not given any titles, he himself is endowed with the title *Pṛithvīkalaśa* (line 10). We know of a Nēṭṭabhañja with the same genealogical account as in this record from the Chakradharpur plates,[7] who has been taken to be the second of that name.[8] But in the Chakradharpur charter, he is endowed with the title *Kalyāṇakalaśa.* The title *Pṛithvīkalaśa* occurring here, indicates, therefore, that he had more titles than one.[9]

The charter is stated to have been issued from **Vañjulvaka.** It has two sections. The first section ending with line 37 is concerned with the main purport of the record, i.e. the royal grant of land in **Gundapāṭaka** in **Nānnākhañja-vishaya** to *Vaṇija* Aïchadataka. The second section (lines 37-42) engraved in a slightly different hand, records another grant, made by the king, of land in the same village, for a different purpose.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham.* Then lines 1-8 contain the two usual verses praising the Vibhru-nētra (browless eye, i.e. the third eye)[10] of god Hara and invoking the

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[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff., and plates.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 272 ff., and plates.

[3] See ibid., pp. 274-76 for a discussion on the chronology of the kings of this family.

[4] See ibid., Vol. III, p. 329 ff., for Fleet's remarks on this feature and on the palaeography of the records of this period and region.

[5] *OHRJ,* Vol. XI, pp. 12, 16.

[6] Although this letter resembles the symbol for *20* (see G.H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā,* Plate LXXIII), as it was not preceded by the word *Saṁvat* or its contraction, we have to take it only as a punctuation mark.

[7] *JBORS,* Vol. VI, pp. 274 ff.

[8] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 274-75.

[9] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1500-01. Vidyādharabhañja, the father of king Nēṭṭabhañja would appear to have had two titles [*Dharmma ?*]*kalaśa* (above, Vol. IX, p. 275, text line 10 and foot-note 13) and *Ā(A)nō(mō)-ghakalaśa* (ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 279, text lines 7-8). But a comparison of the words in the facsimiles published will show that the word intended was the same though in the former case the word has been overwritten and in the latter some error seems to have been committed while engraving. The intended word appears to be *Anō(nu) pamakalaśa.*

[10] See above, Vol. IX, p. 275, text line 3, and note 7.

protection of the *Surasarit*. The short prose passage in line 8 refers to the issue of the charter from the victorious **Vañjulvaka.** This is followed by a prose passage in lines 8-14, containing the genealogical account of the king *Mahārāja*-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēva,** who is described as *Prithvīkalaśa, Paramavaishṇava* and *Bhañjāmalakulatilaka*. In lines 14-17, the king is stated to address an order to the various officials in the **Nānnākhañja-vishaya.** The contents of the order, viz. the grant made by the king of a part of the village **Gundapāṭaka-grāma** in the above-mentioned *vishaya* with its boundaries specified, for the religious merit of his parents and of himself, are contained in lines 17-22. One of the boundaries is stated to be Raṇabhañja-bandha probably referring to some construction (embankment ?) in the name of Raṇabhañja probably *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja, the great great-grandfather of Nēṭṭabhañja II.[1] Lines 22-24 contain the particulars relating to the donee. He was *Vaṇija* Aichadataka, who was the son of Vāpadata and grandson of Apadata and great-grandson of *Vaṇija* Gargadata. It is interesting to note that the genealogy of the donee also contains four generations as that of the royal genealogy mentioned above. It is stated that the donee belonged to Kāśyapa-gōtra and his ancestor Gargadata hailed from **Tribhuvanapura** in **Varēndri.** The purpose for which a land-grant was made to a *Vaṇija* is not stated. As a grant to a *Vaṇija* is quite unusual, this grant may have some relationship with the grant of the postscript. Lines 25-27 contain the king's request to future rulers to protect the gift. This is followed by four imprecatory verses in lines 26-33. Lines 33-37 contain the names of the officials connected with the charter. It is stated that the record was marked apparently with the royal seal by Jayamahādēvī, approved by *Mantrin Bhaṭa* Vāpudēva, entered (in the register) by *Mahāpratihāra* Kumaḍaka, written by *Sandhivigraha* Jayastambha and engraved by *Akshaśāli* Dugadēva. The *Vārgu[li*]ka* Punalīka is also mentioned with the apparent omission of a word like *anujñātam* defining his function. All these officials are already known from the Chakradharpur plates, though in them the names of Vāpudēva, Dugadēva and Kumaḍaka are differently spelt as Bāpuka, Dagadēva and Kumāra respectively. It is not also impossible that these variations in the spellings of these names are due to faulty reading which we cannot verify in the absence of a facsimile of the record.

The second section in lines 37-42, engraved in a somewhat different hand, is in the nature of a post-script, and registers the grant made probably by the king himself, of ten *paṭakas* of land along with the land previously granted in the same village, to (the residents) of the self-same Brahmapura (*ēshām=ēva Brahmapurāṇām*) on the occasion of the *Purushōttama-chakra-pratishṭhā*, i.e. at the time of the installation of *chakra* on the temple of god Purushōttama or the consecration of the temple. The Brahmapura mentioned here is obviously the Brāhmaṇa quarter of Gundapāṭaka mentioned above and the land granted now probably constituted the fees to the consecration. The connection between the main grant and the post-script is supported by the mention of the Raṇabhañja-bandha as one of the boundaries of the land granted. Though the god at Purī is well known as Purushōttama, the deity with the same name of our record may as well have been the deity of a local Vishṇu temple.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, Vañjulvaka is known from several records of this family although it has not been satisfactorily identified. The name Varēndri evidently refers to North Bengal. The district called Nānnākhañja is probably identical with Nānākhaṇḍa of the plates of Nēṭṭabhañja-Tribhuvanakalaśa.[2] The villages Gundapāṭaka, Uttara-pallikā and Tribhuvanapura cannot be identified with certainty.

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[1] See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 275 for the genealogical table.

[2] Ibid., pp. 278 ff. and plates (see text line 11).

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Āryā* ; verses 4-5 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 6 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[2] [| *] Jayati kusuma-vā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-v[i]kshōbha-daksha[ṁ*] | [3] sva-kira-

2 ṇa-parivēśau(sh-au)rjjitya-ji(jī)rnn(rṇṇ)-ēndu-lēkhastrī(kham | tri)bhuvana-bhavana(n-ā)-nta-

3 r-dyōta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ kanaka-nikaśa(sha)-[gau]raṁ vibhru-tē(nē)traṁ Ha-

4 rasya [|| 1*] Śēsh-āhēr=iva yē phaṇā[ḥ*] pravilasant[y=u]dbhāsvar-ēndu-

5 tvisha[ḥ*] prālēy-āchala-śṛiṅga-kō[ṭa]ya iva tvaṅganti yē=

6 ty-[u]na(nna)tā[ḥ* |] nṛity-āṭōpa-vighaṭitā iva bhujā rājati(nti) yē

7 Śāmbhavās=tē sarvv-āgha-vighātinā(na)ḥ sura[sarit-tōy-ō]rmma-

8 yaḥ pāntu vaḥ [|| 2*] Svasti śrī-vijaya-**Vañjulvakāt** | [Asti śrī]-ja-

9 ya-nilaya-prakaṭa-guṇa-gaṇa-grasta-sama[sta-ripu- varga] [ḥ* |]

Second Plate, First Side

10 **Pṛithī(thvī)kalaśa**-nāma-rājā nirddhūta-kali-kaluśa(sha)-kalmasha[ḥ || 3*] Śrī-

11 **Digbhañjadēvasya** prapautra[ḥ*] śrī-**Ś[i]lābhañjadēvasya** naptā śrī-

12 **Vidy[ādharabha]ñjadēvasya** suta[ḥ*] paramavaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-p[ā]-

13 d-ānudhyātō [Bhañ]jāmalakulatilakō mahārāja-śrī-**Nē-**

14 **ṭa(ṭṭa)[Bhañja]dēva[ḥ*]** kuśalī **Nānnākhañja-vishayē** yathā-nivāsi-

15 sāmanta-bhāga-bhōg-ādi-janapada(dā)[n*] samādiśati mānayatī(ti)

16 [pūjayati] vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati ch=ānyat sarvvata[ḥ*] śivam=asmāka-

17 m=anyat viditama[4]m=astu bhavatāṁ(tā)mē=tad-vishaya-saṁmva(mba)ndha(ddha)-**Gundapā-**

18 [**ṭaka**-grām-ai]kadēśō=yaṁ śrī-Raṇabhañja-va(ba)ndhasya pūrvvapyu(sy=ō)tta-

19 [ra-pallikasy=aika]dēśa[ḥ*] dakshiṇēna mārga-śī(sī)mā-paryanta[ṁ*] |

Second Plate, Second Side

20 prāg-dakshiṇata[ḥ*] sva-si(sī)mā-paryanta-parī(ri)chchhina(nna)[ḥ*] mātā-pitrō-

21 r=ātmanaś=cha punyā(ṇy-ā)bhivṛiddhayē a(ā)-chandrārka[ṁ*] yāvat salila-dha(dhā)rā-

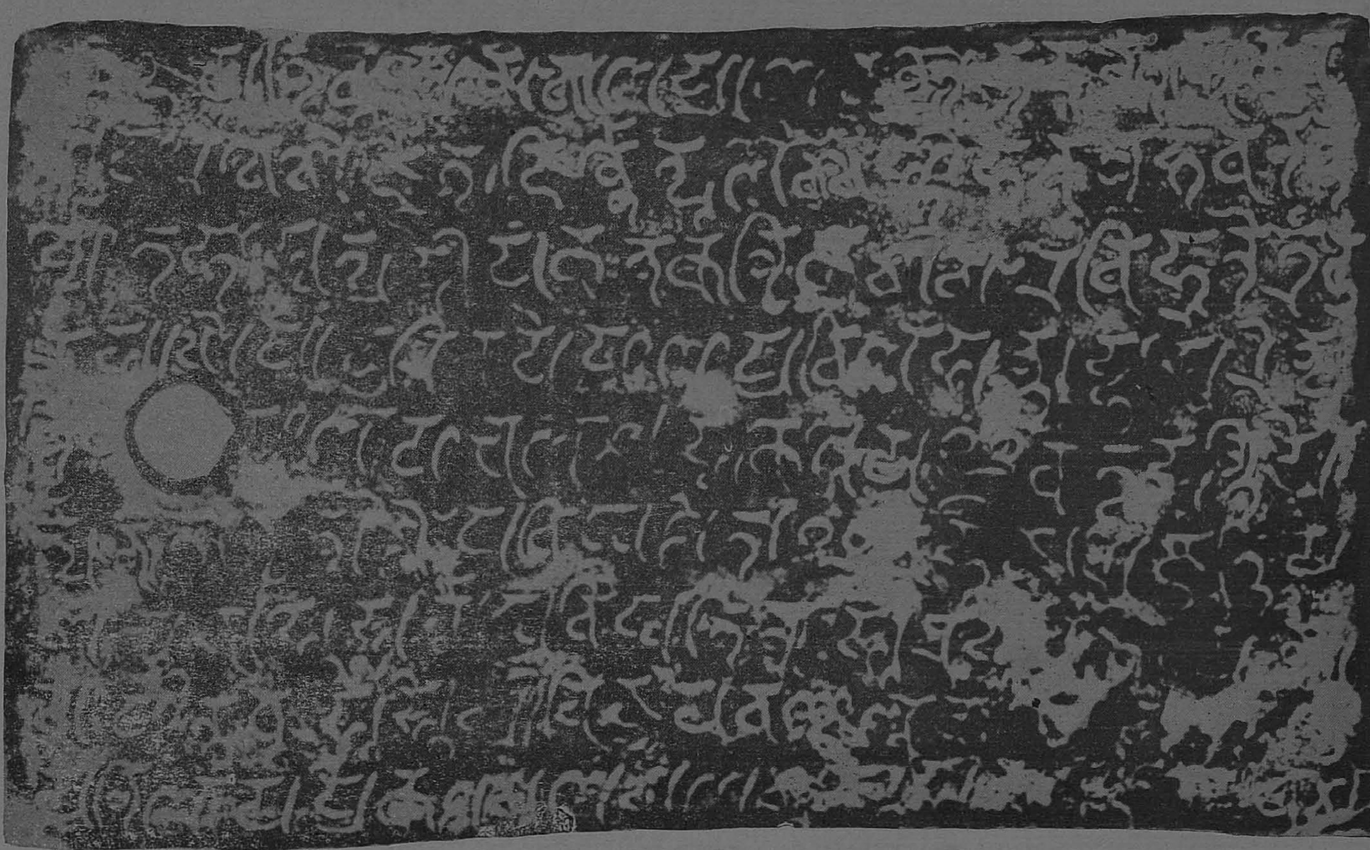
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[1] From impressions.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.
[4] This *ma* is superfluous.

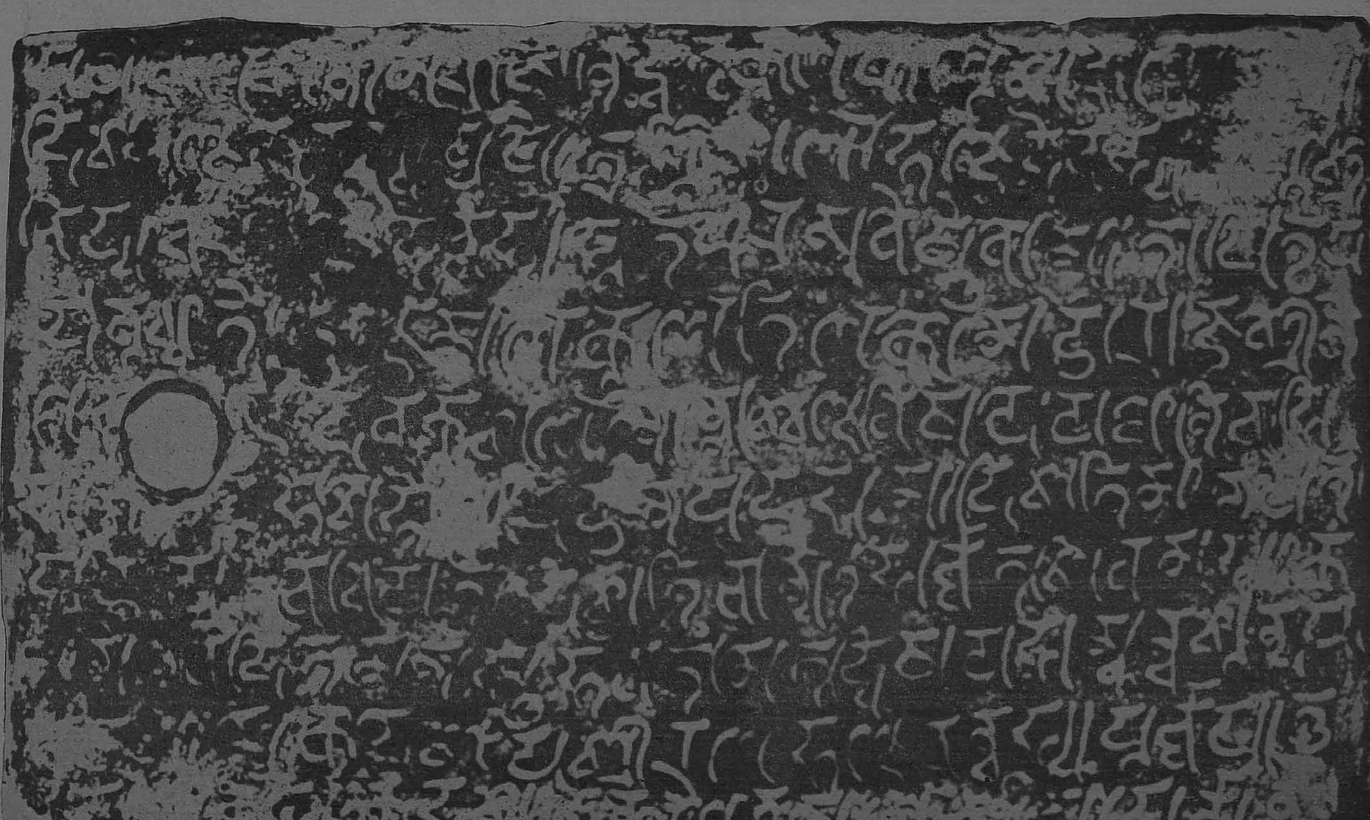
TWO BHAṆJA GRANTS IN THE ORISSA STATE MUSEUM — PLATE II

B—Grant of Nēṭṭabhañjadēva II—Pṛithvīkalaśa

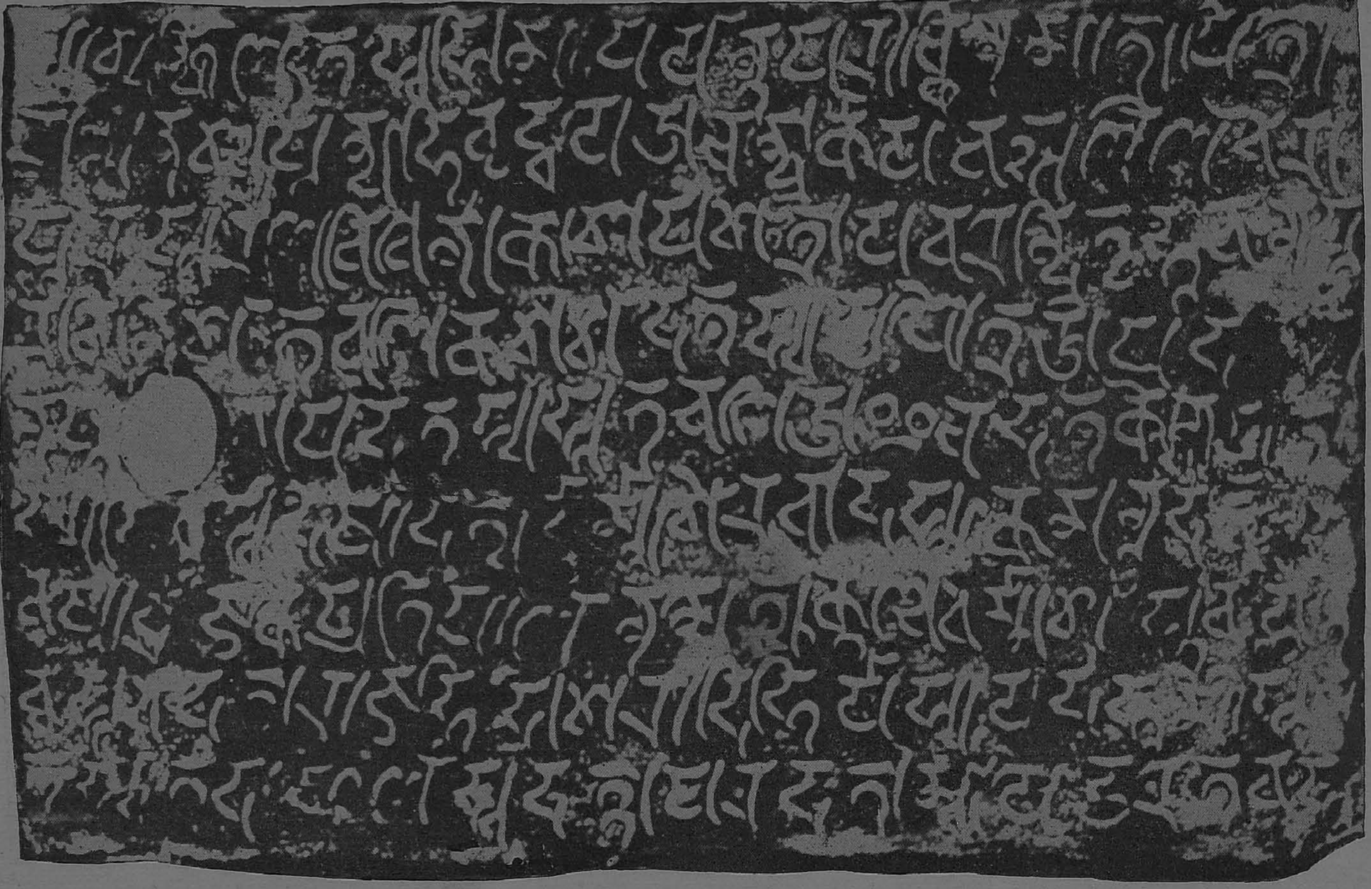
i



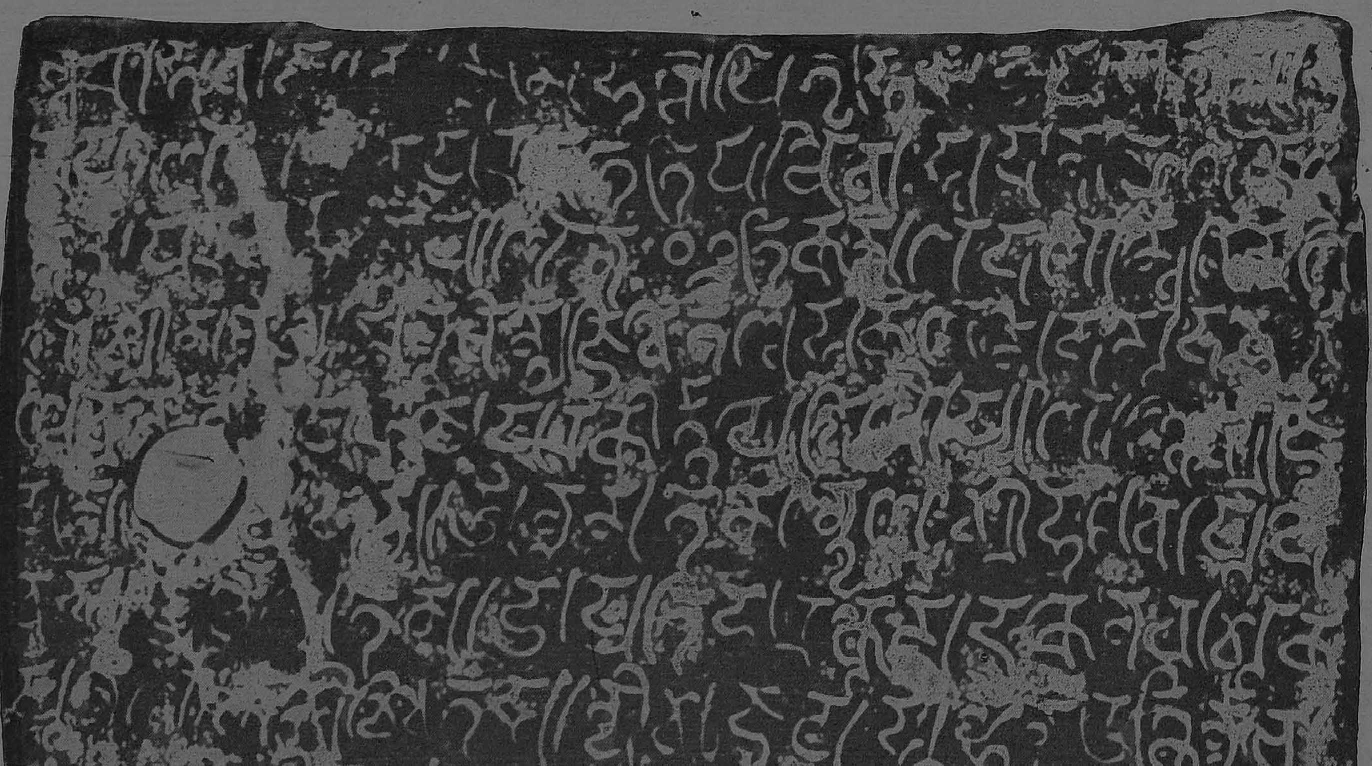
ii a



ii b



iii a



Scale : Actual Size

22 pura[s*]sarēṇa vidhinā Kāśa(śya)pa-gōtrāya **Varēndri-Tṛi(Tri)bhuvanapu-**

23 **ra**-vinirgata-vaṇika(g)-Gargadatasya prapautra Apada[ta]sya

24 naptṛi Vāpadatasya suta vaṇi[g*]-Aïchadatakēna(kāya) pra[tipādi*]tō=

25 smā[bhi]r=asva(sma)d=ēshā datv(tti)r=ddharmma-gauravād=asmākam=anudatañ[1]=cha bha-

26 vi[shya]d=rājakai[ḥ*] pratipālanamē(nīy=ē)ty=uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [|*] Va(Ba)-hubhi-

27 r=vvasudhā datā(ttā) rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhirya(bhiḥ | ya)sya [yasya*] yadā bhūmīs-(mis)=tasya

28 tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [|| 4*] Svadattā[ṁ*] para-datāmvā (ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasu-

Third Plate, First Side

29 ndharā[m*] [|*] sa vī(vi)shṭhāyā[ṁ*] [kṛi]mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē [|| 5*] Mā [bhū]-

30 d=aphala-[śaṅkā va][ḥ*] para-datē(tt=ē)ti pārthivāḥ [| *] sva-dānāt=phalam=ā-

31 nantyaṁ para[datt=ānu]pālanaḥ(nē) [|| 6*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)[ndu-lō]-

32 lāṁ Śrīma[nushya]m=anuchintya[2]-ji(jī)vitañ=cha [|*] sakalammi(m=i)dam=udā[hṛitā(ta)]-

33 ñ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purush[ai][ḥ*] para-kīrttayē(yō) vilōpyā[ḥ || 7*] Lāñchi(chhi)-[taṁ] śrī-Ja-

34 yamā(ma)[hādē]vyā anumataṁ mantṛi(tri)ṇā śrī-Bhaṭa-Vāpudē-

35 vasya(vēna) | prāvai(vē)śita[ṁ] mā(ma)hāpratihāra-Kumaḍakēna [3]vārgu[li*]ka-

36 Punalīka[4] [li]khitaṁ sānddhīgṛi[5]-Jayastambhēna utki(tkī)rnna(ṇṇa)[ṁ*] ch=ā-

37 kshā(ksha)śālī(li) Dugadēvēnaḥ(na) | iti tha[6] Siddhaṁ[7] [| *][8] Atr=aiva grāmē rā-

Third Plate, Second Side

38 ṇaka-śrī-Raṇabhañja-va(ba)ndha-uttara-alinā paśchim-ābhimukhēna

---

[1] Read *anurōdhāch.*

[2] Read *Śriyam=anuchintya manushya°*

[3] A word like *anujñātam* (vide above, Vol XXVIII, p 283, text line 41) seems to have been omitted here.

[4] The instrumental case-ending is absent here.

[5] Read *sandhivigrahi.*

[6] Thisletter indicates the end of the first section of the record.

[7] Expressed by a symbol

[8] The writing from here is in a different hand.

39 pūrvadatta-paṭaka-sahitēna paṭakā daśa prai-

40 pta-śilā yāvat Śrīdēvapa-Purushōttamasya[1]

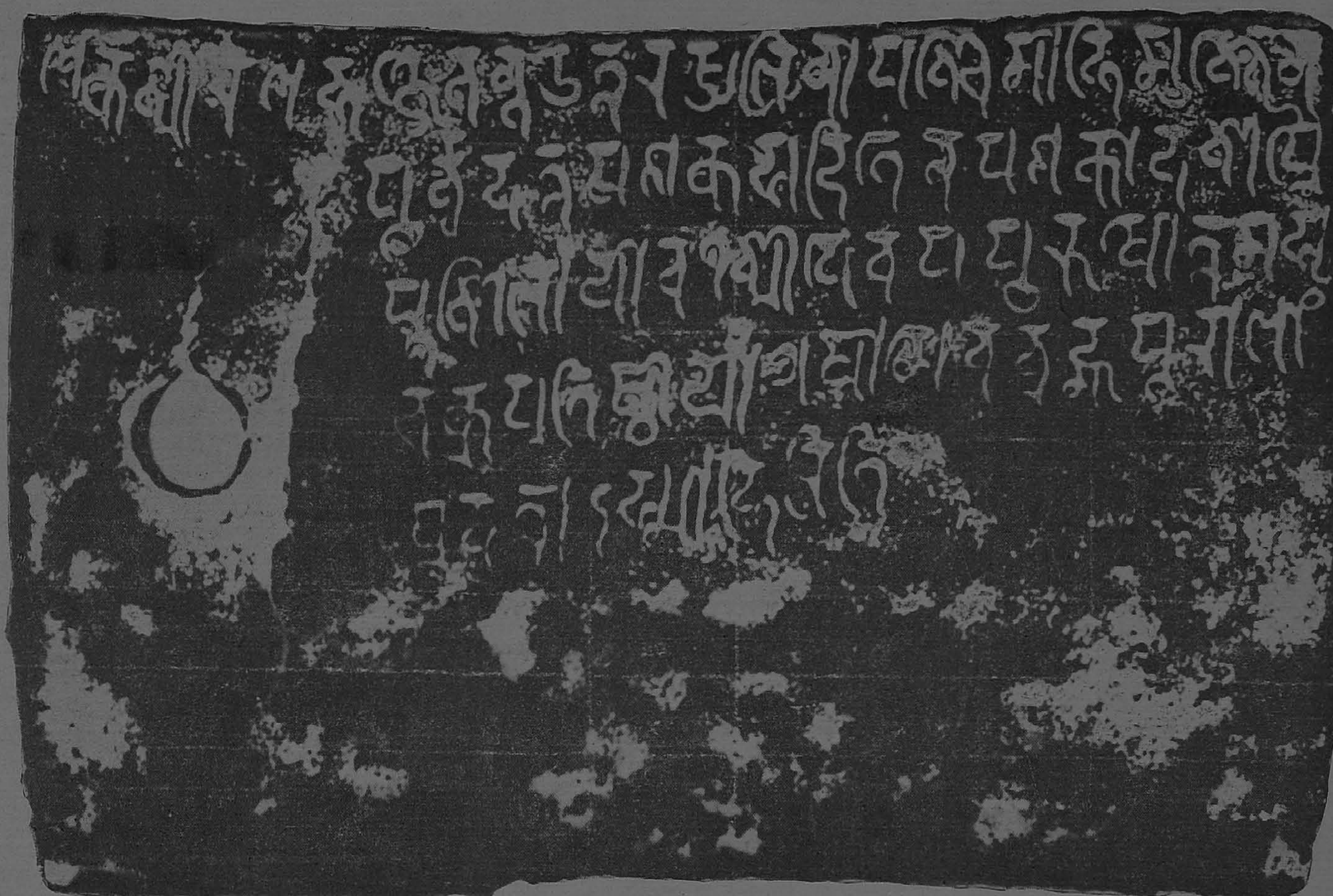
41 chakra-pratishṭhāyāṁ ēshām=ēva vra(bra)hmapurāṇāṁ

42 pradatt=āsmābhir=iti [||*]

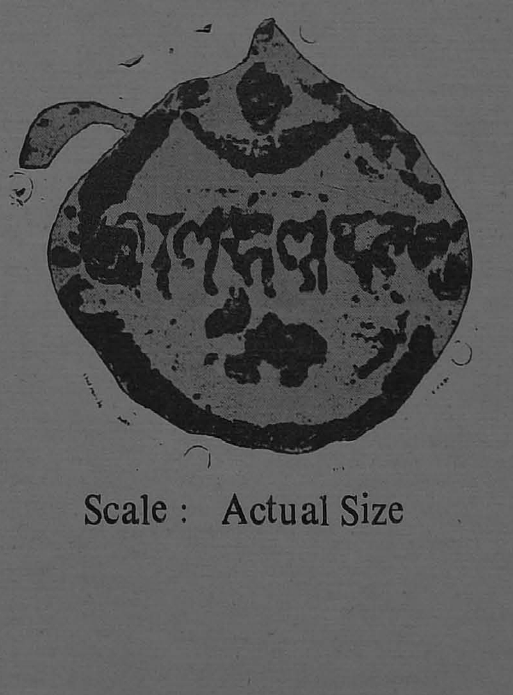
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[1] Read *Śrī-Dēva-Purushōttamasya.*

iii b



Seal of A.—Aidā Plates of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja



Scale : Actual Size

No. 47—VARANGA INSCRIPTION OF KUNDANA

(*1 Plate*)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

(*Received on 7.12.1965*)

The inscription, which is being edited here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore, was found engraved on a slab set up in front of the inner shrine of the Nēmīśvara *basti* in the village of **Varāṅga**, Karkala Taluk, South Kanara District, Mysore State. While reporting this inscription in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1928-29 (No. 526 of Appendix B), it was observed that the epigraph 'gives the ancestry of the Āḷupa king Kulaśēkhara and mentions his queen Jākalamādēvī and (the priests ?) Maladhāridēva, Mādhavachandra and Prabhāchandra'. This had led to a mistaken statement elsewhere[1] that the Varāṅga inscription belongs to the reign of Kulaśēkhara. It will be shown below that this important inscription belongs, on the other hand, to the reign of Āḷupa Kulaśēkhara's successor Śāntara Kuṇḍaṇa and that five, and not three, Jaina pontiffs are mentioned therein.

The inscription under study is engraved in Kannaḍa **characters** of the 13th century. The sixty lines of writing are in a good state of preservation but for the first and last few lines. While the writing is neatly executed, the sizes of the letters are not uniform throughout. For instance letters in lines 5-14 are bigger in size than those in the preceding and subsequent lines.

The epigraph exhibits some interesting palaeographical features. The letters *m*, *y* and *v* occur in the inscription in two forms, the cursive and the ordinary types. It may also be pointed out that the reading of the inscription is rendered a little difficult in some places owing to the fact that the engraver has resorted to a free hand in carving out the letters, thus necessitating a few words here and there to be inferred from the context of their occurrence.

Excepting the conventional invocatory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, the **language** employed in our record is Kannaḍa, prose and verse. As regards **orthography**, it may be pointed out that the class nasal and the doubling of a consonant immediately preceded by *r* are found employed in many cases. Errors in orthography met with in the present record are a common feature in the records of the period and do not call for any remarks.

The inscription is not dated but is to be assigned, on palaeographical as well as historical grounds, to the first half of the 13th century. It records (lines 42-47) that **Kuṇḍaṇa**, the ruler of **Āḷuva-dēśa**, restored the grant of land made in earlier days by a great man (*mahā-purusha*) named **Varāṅga**. Though the beneficiary of the grant is not mentioned, the reference earlier in the epigraph to the Jaina *basti* and its tank at **Varāṅga**, the fact that the present inscription is a Jaina one by its contents, as also the provenance of the inscribed slab indicate that the beneficiary was the Jaina *basti*, i.e. the Nēmīśvara *basti* where the inscription under study was found set up.

This inscription is **important** for the dynastic history of the Āḷupas who held sway over the present-day district of South Kanara from at least the middle of the 7th to the end of the 14th

[1] B. A. Saletore, *History of Tuḷuva*, p. 413.

century. Of all the Āḷupa inscriptions so far discovered in South Kanara District, this is the only inscription containing a genealogical account, partial though it may be, of the family.

Verse 1 (lines 1-2) is in praise of Āditīrtha. Verse 2 (lines 2-3) is in praise of the Jaina pontiff Śrīchaṁdra who is described again in lines 21-25. Verse 3 (line 4) is in the form of an imprecatory stanza while the next verse (verse 4 in lines 5-6) is in praise of the *Jina-śāsana*. Verses 5-14 and the two prose passages immediately following (lines 6-25) are in praise of five Jaina pontiffs, Maladhāridēva, Mādhavachaṁdra, Prabhāchaṁdra, Nēmichaṁdra and Śrīchaṁdra the last of whom is praised earlier also, in verse 2. These pontiffs belonged to the Mūla-saṅgha, Koṇḍakund-ānvaya, Krānūr-gaṇa and Mēshapāshāṇa-gachchha. The inscription states that Śrīchaṁdra renovated the Jaina *basti*, its tank and its entrance hall (*bāgil-goṭṭage*) at world-famous **Varāṅga**. He also built Jaina *bastis* at **Kuruḷikunda** and **Alevūru** besides Varāṅga (lines 21-25).

The next section, in prose (lines 26-30), provides us with a long list of titles and epithets with which the Āḷupas adorned themselves. According to the epigraph, the Āḷupas were famous all over the world (*samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*) and their titles included the sovereign ones of *Pāṇḍya-rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. The earliest known rulers of this family, Āḷuvarasa and Chitravāhana, who ruled as the subordinates of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi during the 7th century, had the title of *Mahārāja*.[1] It was in the 9th century that, for the first time, an Āḷupa ruler, Vijayāditya-Māramma, took upon himself imperial titles such as *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirājarāja*.[2] Undoubtedly, the geographical isolation of the territory over which they ruled and the lack of interest in their affairs on the part of the greater powers of the Deccan, and not any genuine imperial status earned by them, enabled the Āḷupas to appropriate for themselves such lofty and high-sounding titles.

Two other interesting epithets included in the list are *Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya*. The Āḷupas closely associated themselves with the dynastic name Pāṇḍya and the Bārakūru inscription[3] of Kavi Āḷupa, dated in A.D. 1139, refers to a gold coin issued by the Āḷupas as *Pāṇḍya-gadyāṇa*. Two Āḷupa rulers of the 9th century, Pṛithvīsāgara and Vijayāditya-Māramma, had the epithet of *Uttama-Pāṇḍya*.[4] The earliest dated reference for the association of the dynastic names of Āḷupa and Pāṇḍya is to be found in the Shiggaon plates[5] of Chālukya Vijayāditya, dated in A.D. 707. This inscription eulogises Chitravāhana-narēndra, the then Āḷupa ruler, as adorning the pure lineage of the Pāṇḍyas (*Pāṇḍy-āmala-kulam-alaṁkurvataḥ*). It will not be out of place to refer here to an undated inscription[6] from Poḷali-Ammuñje, Mangalore Taluk, South Kanara District which, on grounds of palaeography, is to be assigned to the same period to which the Shiggaon plates belong. This inscription, containing only one verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre, reads :

Śrīmatāṁ vipula-vaṁśa-vaśīkṛita-mahībhujām |

Pāṇḍyānām-Āḷupēndrāṇām avyāsus-Saptamātaraḥ ||

'May the Seven Mothers protect the illustrious Āḷupēndras (*who are known as*) the Pāṇḍyas who attract the emperors by the greatness of their family.'

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[1] *Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series*, No. 6, pp. 11 ff , and plates ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ff., Nos. VII and VIII and plates.
[3] *S I I* , Vol. VII, No. 381.
[4] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 ff., Nos VI-VIII and plates.
[5] Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff , and plates.
[6] *A. R. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. B 375. The first quarter of the stanza is metrically defective though all the 8 syllables necessary for the *anushṭubh* metre are present.

We learn from line 30 that the Āḷupas belonged to the lunar race (*Sōma-vaṁśa*), a fact which finds its earliest mention in some Āḷupa records of the 9th century.[1] Our record states (lines 31-32) that Paṭṭi-oḍeya was ever seized of the noble task of putting down the bad and upholding the good elements in his kingdom reflecting thereby the maxim '*rāja-rakshitaṁ dharmmaṁ*'.[2] No records of his reign have come down to us. Paṭṭi-oḍeya means the 'Lord of Paṭṭi', Paṭṭi being another name for the city of Pombuchcha[3] (i.e. modern Humcha in Nagar Taluk, Shimoga District, Mysore State) which was under the sway of the Āḷupas until it was made their capital city by the Sāntaras towards the end of the 9th century. Paṭṭi-oḍeya could not have been, therefore, the proper name of the ruler as is further shown by the present epigraph itself which gives Kulaśēkhara the epithet of Paṭṭi-oḍeya.

The inscription under study merely states (line 32) that Paṭṭi-oḍeya was succeeded by Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya and does not furnish any information on his reign. Two undated inscriptions, one[4] from Poḷali, Mangalore Taluk and belonging to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Bhaṭṭāraka* Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva and the other[5] from Kariyaṅgaḷa in the same taluk and belonging to the reign of *Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Kumāra-Pāṇḍya-Jayasiṅgarasa are to be assigned to the reign of this Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya on grounds of palaeography. It is thus obvious that Jayasiṁha was this ruler's proper name. This is further confirmed by an inscription[6] from Karaḍi, Tiptur Taluk, Tumkur District, Mysore State. Dated in A.D. 1115 this inscription refers to an invasion of Āḷuvakhēḍa—6000 by one Seṭṭi-gāmuṇḍa and his encounter with Jayasiṅga-Āḷuva as a past event. As will be seen below the Āḷupa ruler in 1114-15 A.D. was Kavi-Āḷupa, and therefore the encounter between Seṭṭi-gāmuṇḍa and Jayasiṅga-Āḷuva may be roughly dated to about 1110 A.D. In view of the proximity of the dates of Jayasiṅga and Kavi-Āḷupa and the statement in the record under study that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya was Kavi-Āḷupa's immediate predecessor it is obvious that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya and Jayasiṅga-Āḷupa were identical.

The next Āḷupa ruler was Kavi-Āḷupa (line 33). Unlike in the case of the previous two rulers, we have for the reign of Kavi-Āḷupa, four dated records. The earliest of them, from Udiyāvara, Udipi Taluk, belongs to A.D. 1114-15[7] and the latest, from Bārakūru in the same Taluk, belongs to June 27, A.D. 1155.[8] Kavi-Āḷupa, therefore, appears to have had a long reign, from about 1110 to about 1160 A.D. Though the Varāṅga inscription provides us with no information about his reign, his available inscriptions credit him with sovereign titles such as *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartti, Pṛithvīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.

Kavi-Āḷupa was succeeded by Kulaśēkhara who is referred to in the present epigraph as Kulaśēkh[ar*]-Āḷuva and Kulaśēkharadēva (lines 33-36). His known dates range from 1175-76[9] to 1215[10] attesting to the fact that he too enjoyed a long reign. His records also endow him with

[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 ff., Nos. VI-VIII and plates.

[2] The term *kannaḍisu* means 'to mirror' or 'to reflect'.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 126.

[4] *A.R. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. 374.

[5] Ibid., No. 380.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 81. The reading and translation given here are : *Jayasiṅgāḍuvarana munde surigegāḷagavaṁ kādi* and 'having fought in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu'. These make no sense and the correct reading is *Jayasiṅg-Āḷuvarana munde*, etc., i.e. having fought in front of Jayasiṅga-Āḷuva.

[7] *SII.*, Vol, VII, No. 290.

[8] Ibid., No. 376.

[9] Ibid., Vol IX, Part I, No 394

[10] *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 222.

sovereign titles, suggesting that he continued to enjoy the same power and influence as his predecessors.

This inscription states (lines 34-35) that Kulaśēkhara's queen Jākala-mādēvi had a tank excavated at Varāṅga and also performed acts of piety. The Varāṅga inscription is a Jaina record. In A.D. 1246 and 1247, we hear of a Jākala-mahādēvi ruling over the Kaḷaśa principality from her capital at Kaḷaśa, very near the borders of the Āḷupa kingdom and situated in the Chikmagaḷūr District.[1] The Kaḷaśa rulers were Jains by religion. It is not, however, possible to say, in the present state of our knowledge, if Kulaśēkhara's queen was a princess of this minor ruling family.

The inscription under study provides us with the interesting information (lines 36-45) that Kulaśēkhara was succeeded by Kuṇḍaṇa, the younger brother of Vīrabhūpāla who was himself the younger brother of Tribhuvana-Śāntara. The last mentioned is the same as Vīra-Śāntara, whose known dates range from 1157[2] to 1191[3] A.D. and who ruled over Sāntaḷige-1000 from his capital city of Pombuchchapura. The inscriptions of the Śāntaras do not make any mention of his brothers, Vīrabhūpāla and Kuṇḍaṇa, though Vīra-Śāntara is known to have had two other brothers named Govinda *alias* Rāya-Śāntara and Bhoppuga.[4]

Lines 36-42 introduce Tribhuvana-Śāntara who receives a string of epithets including *nūrmaḍi-chakravarti.*[5] Vīra-bhūpāḷa is mentioned in line 42 and lines 43-50 introduce the ruler Kuṇḍaṇa and also record the restoration of the grant made in earlier days. He is given the Āḷupa epithets of *Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* but does not receive any of the sovereign titles.

While the details of the grant discussed above are recorded in lines 42-47, lines 47-49 give the boundaries of the gift-land. Lines 49-50 stipulate that the gift should be protected by the rulers (*dēśādhīśvarar*) and the *ēḷu-baḷi*. Lines 50-51 contain an imprecatory passage in Kannaḍa and the remaining lines (lines 57-60) give the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.

It is likely that Kulaśēkhara died after a long reign without any eligible issues or leaving behind a minor son. He may have been related to the Śāntaras in some way, and by virtue of this relationship, Kuṇḍaṇa may have assumed the reins at the death of Kulaśēkhara[6] probably in the capacity of a regent. In the long history of the Āḷupas, Kuṇḍaṇa was the only non-Āḷupa ruler to have reigned over Āḷuva-khēḍa. Unlike his predecessors, he did not rule for long. We have seen above that his predecessor Kulaśēkhara may have ended his reign in about 1220 A.D. The next dated inscription[7] of an Āḷupa ruler is from Vaḍḍarse, Udipi Taluk and belongs to the reign of one Vallabhadēva-Āḷupēndra. It is dated in the cyclic year Manmatha which, on palaeographical grounds, is to be referred to A.D. 1235. Kuṇḍaṇa, therefore, reigned for less than fifteen years. As was pointed out above it may be that he was only a regent, holding the reins on behalf of a minor

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 65, 66 and 70.

[2] Ibid., Kp. 41.

[3] Ibid., Vol. VII, Part I, Sh. 116.

[4] Ibid., Introduction, p. 7.

[5] Saletore mistook this epithet for the name of Kuḷaśēkhara's successor and was not aware of the fact that the Varāṅga inscription mentions Kuṇḍaṇa (cf. *History of Tuḷuva*, p. 123).

[6] The Āḷupas and the Śāntaras often entered into marriage alliances with each other, *vide Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. 7.

[7] *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 295.

son of Kulaśēkhara. The nature of the relationship between Kulaśēkhara and Kuṇḍaṇa is not known.

We give below the genealogical succession of rulers, as gleaned from the inscription under study, in the light of the above discussions.[1]

Paṭṭi-oḍeya (proper name not known)
(c. 1050-80 A.D.)
|
Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya[2]
s.a. Jayasanga-Āḷuva
(c. 1080-1110 A.D.)
|
Kavi-Āḷupa
(c. 1110-60 A.D.)
|
Paṭṭi-oḍeya
Kulaśēkharadēva
(*married* Jākala-mādēvi)
(c. 1160-1220 A.D.)
|
Kuṇḍaṇa of the Śāntara family
(c. 1220-35 A.D.)

We learn from the present inscription that when the grant of land was made in earlier days it was entrusted to the *nāḍu* and the *ēḷu-baḷi* (i.e. the representatives of seven prominent families) (line 46). The subsequent restoration of the grant by Kuṇḍaṇa suggests that the grant thus made had fallen into evil days.

Besides **Varāṅga,** other geographical names mentioned in the inscription are **Āḷva-dēśa Kuruḷikunda, Alevūru** and **Niḍuguṇḍi.** Varāṅga, where the present epigraph is found, was evidently named after the donor of that name. Āḷvadēśa stands for the Āḷupa kingdom and was known outside its bounds as Āḷvakhēḍa-6000 from the 9th century onwards. It roughly comprised the present district of South Kanara in Mysore State and small bits of tracts from the neighbouring districts.

Kuruḷikunda and Alevūru, where the pontiff Śrīchaṁdra is stated to have built Jaina *bastis,* are to be identified respectively with Kulgunda along the eastern borders of the South Kanara District in the **Puttur** Taluk and Alevūr in the Udipi Taluk. I am unable to identify Niḍuguṇḍi but it must be located near Varāṅga, the findspot of the inscription.

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[1] If we roughly assign a reign period of 30 years each to the two predecessors of Kavi-Āḷupa, their approximate reign periods fall into 1050-1080 and 1080-1110 A.D. respectively.

[2] Saletore did not know that the Varāṅga inscription refers to the reign of Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya, in between those of Paṭṭi-oḍeya and Kavi-Āḷupa. Accordingly, he also wrongly identified Paṭṭi-oḍeya of the present epigraph with Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva of the Poḷali inscription, discussed above (*History of Tuḷuva*, pp. 98 ff.).

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā;* verses 2, 8, 9, 12-14 *Kanda ;* verses 3, 4, 15, 17-18 *Anushṭubh ;* verses 5, 7 *Champakamāle ;* verse 10 *Utpalamāle;* verse 16 *Śālinī.*]

1[2] Śrīmat-pavitram=akaḷaṁkam=anaṁtakalpaṁ svāyaṁbhuvaṁ sakaḷa-maṁgaḷam=Āditī-
rtthaṁ [| *] nityōtsavaṁ maṇimayaṁ ni[cha]-

2 yaṁ Jinānāṁ traiḷōkya-bhūshaṇam=ahaṁ śaraṇaṁ prapadyē ||[1*]||[3] **Śrīchaṁdraṁ**
sakaḷa-vachaśrī-chaṁ-

3 draṁ dāṇa-dharmmam=utphaḷa-chaṁdraṁ[mā](dram=ā-)chaṁdra-tāra-va[rddha]na-bhū-
chakkra-Varāṁga-tīrttha-jaḷadhiya Chaṁdraṁ [||][2*]

4[4] Til-ārddh-ārddha-pramāṇaṁ hi yō dēvasvam=apēkshate [| *] [pu]nar=āvṛittatē svarggaṁ
yāvach-chaṁdra-divākarau ||[3*]

5 Śrī[5]mat-parama-gaṁbhīra-syād-vād-āmōgha-lāṁchhanaṁ [|*] jīyāt-traiḷōkyanātha-

6 sya sāśa(śāsa)naṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ(nam) ||[4*] Maṟadum=ad=omme laukikada vā-

7 rtteyan-āḍaḍa(da) kēta-bāgilaṁ teṟeyada bhānuv-astamitam=āḍaḍe pōgada meyya-

8 ṉ=ommeyuṁ tuṟisada kukkuṭ-āsanake sōlada gaṇḍa-vimukuta-virtti(vṛitti)yaṁ maṟeyada

9 ghōra-du[6]rddhara-tapaś-charaṇaṁ **Maladhāridēvara** ||[5*] Muniye Jaṁgama[dē]va-
biṁban=anavadya-

10 chārane Jaina-śāsana-rakshāmaṇi śāntane sakaḷa-rāga-dvēsha-dōsha-prabhaṁjanan=
urvvī-nu-

11 tane guṇa-praṇayi tāṉ=eṁbinaṁ viśva-mēdiniy-oḷa(oḷ) **Mādhavachaṁdradēvan**=
esedaṁ chchhātra-chakrēśvaram ||[6*][7]

12 Jina-mata-lakshmig-abhyudayam-ādadu bhavya-jan-ānurāga-varttanege viśuddha-
mārggam=aḷava-

13 ṭṭudu sattya-tapō-nidhāna-naṁ(na)ndana-vana-rāji pallavisut=iddudu Mādhava-
chaṁdradēvan=eṁ-

14 b=anupama yōgi puṭṭuvudum=ī vasudhā-vaḷay-āntarāḷadoḷu||[7*] Nava-vibhak-
eḷakāntaṁ Mā-

15[8] dhava-samayam=adoṁde kālam=esevudu lōka-pravibhāsiy=enisid=ī Mādhava-samayaṁ
sata[ta*]ṁ=esevud=idu chitratamaṁ |[|8*]

16 Para-samay-ādrige vajraṁ birudiṁ mārmmaleva vādi-kōḷāhaḷan=urvvareg-adhikaṁ
traividy-ābharaṇam vibudh-ārchchitaṁ **Prabhāchaṁdra**-bu-

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[1] From inked impressions.

[2] At the left corner is engraved an ornamental design as a result of which the first 3 lines are shorter than the fourth.

[3] In the place between the *daṇḍas*, where the number of the verse is given, an ornamental design is engraved in the inscription itself.

[4] A small ornamental design with a letter like design below is engraved at the beginning and end of this line.

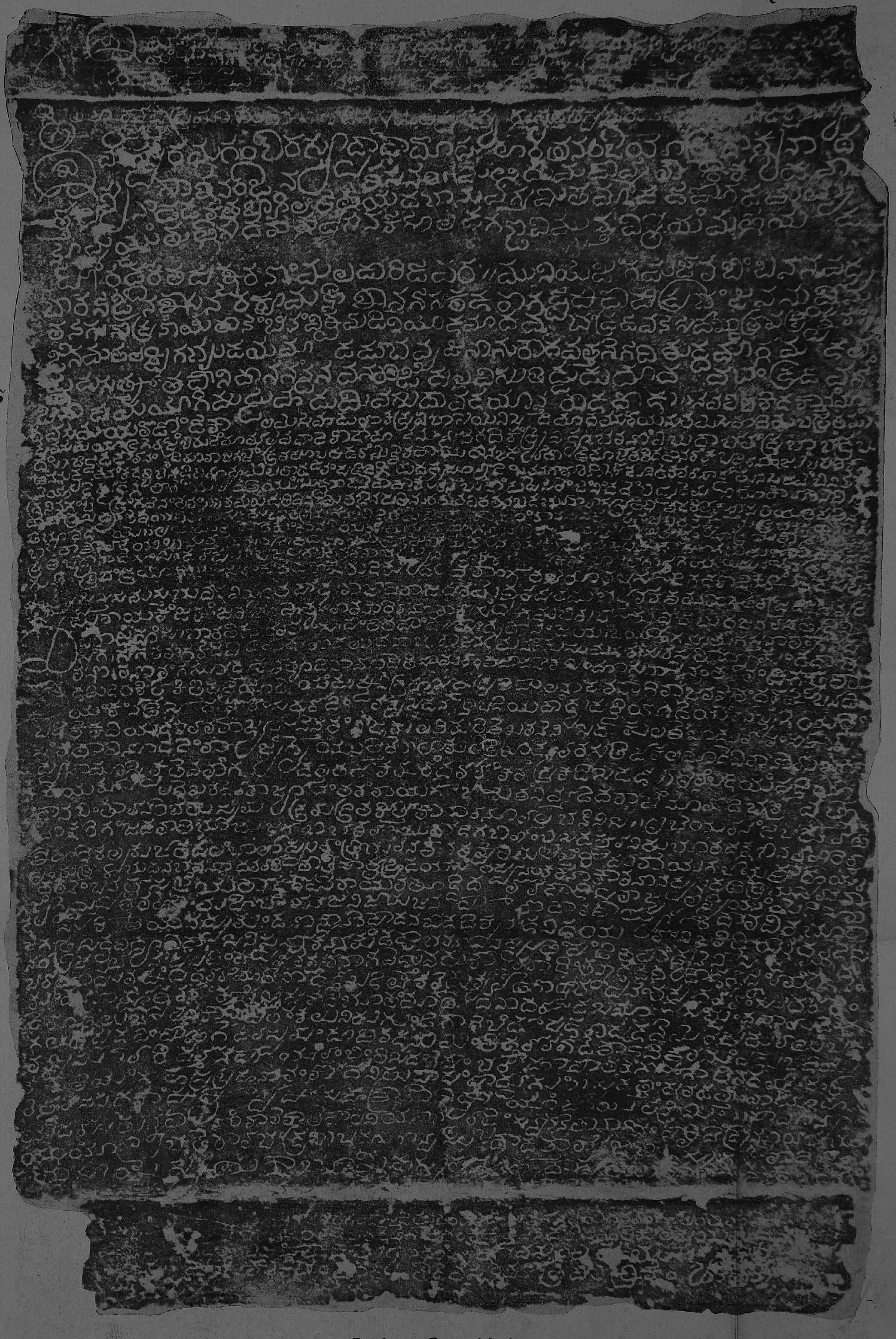
[5] The letter *śrī* is of a bigger size.

[6] The letter *du* is engraved above the line.

[7] This verse is metrically defective.

[8] From this line onwards, the letters are smaller in size.

VARANGA INSCRIPTION OF KUNDANA



Scale : One-third

G. S. Gai

17 dhaṁ ||[9*] Beṭṭada Dāmanaṁdi-munirāja-gajēṁdra-vapū(pv-a)bja-paḍa(da)maṁ meṭṭi kṛishīya-pīna-jaḷamaṁ toṟed-ūrjjita-śīḷa-[dā]namaṁ kaṭṭi Manōjan-eṁba parikā-

18 ṟanan-udṛitanaṁ kaḷalchi beṁnaṭṭi vimōham-eṁba toḍaram paṟi[d-ogi]dūd-atyapūrv-vadiṁ || [10*] [Ta]nag-āvar-eṇig-eṁdu nīḍe karamaṁ sārddattu nishēdhav=eṁb=inite

19 neyoḷ-irddudakke toreya-baṁd-eṟiyuṁ su(śu)ddhan=ādane dōshākaran=eṁbud-oṁdu pesaraṁ cheṁnniṁd-avaṁ biṭṭude muni-chūḍāmaṇi **Nēmi[chaṁ]-**

20 **dra** ninagaṁ Chaṁdraṁgav-anaṁtaraṁ ||[11*][1] Śatamakha-pati-vinamita-Jinapati nura-dhura-vitatan=akhiḷa-bhuvan-āvāsa-sthita-viśada-kīrtti-kāntā-pati yatipati Nē-

21 michaṁdra-siddhāṁtēśaṁ ||[12*] Śrī-Mūla-saṁgha-jāta Kranur(Krānūr)-ggaṇa-vidita Mēshapāshāṇ-āṁk-ānūnatara-gachchha-vitataś-chāru-**Śrīchaṁdra**-yatipa-

22 tir=bhbhū(bbhū)vaḷayē ||[13*] Layamūrtti Koṁḍakuṁd-ānvaya[bhṛi]t-Krānūr-ggaṇ-āgragaṇyaṁ Śrīchaṁdra-yamīṁdra-[cha]ṁdra[maṁ*] sāṁdra-yaśō-vallī-vijṛi[ṁ]-

23 bhit-āśāvaḷayaṁ ||[14*] matta[ṁ] [||] Jagat-prasiddha-Mūla-saṁgha **Koṁḍakuṁd-**ānvaya Krāṇu(nū)r-ggaṇa Mēshapāshāṇa-gachchh=ātuchchha-kōṭi-kūṭa-

24 pratiba[ddh-ā]nādi-saṁ[si]ṁda(siddha)m=appa || Jaga-vitata **Varāṁgada** Jaina-gṛihamaṁ tat-taṭākamaṁ bāgil-goṭṭageya[ṁ] punarbhṛitaṁ māḍi

25 guṇi Śrīchaṁdra-yōgi jasamaṁ paḍedar **Kuruḷikuṁda-Varāṁgad-Alevūra**-basadigaḷ kōṭi-kūṭada saṁba[ṁ]dha [||*]

26[2] Svasti [||*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta Pāṁḍya-rājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka śaraṇāgatavajrapaṁjara | ri-

27 purāya-kaṁja-kuṁjara | sāhitya-vāranārī-manōrāma | saṁ[grā]ma-Bhīma | chatur-vvidha-budha-jana-vanaḥ-pāḷi-ni-

28 ja-rājahaṁsa | Bhāratī-karṇṇ-āvataṁsa | Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya | Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya | Jay-āṁgan-ōttuṁga-stan-āliṁgana-pra-

29 saṁga | saṁgara-raṁga-kēḷī-viḷōla(lōḷa) | lōḷa-lōchan-ābaḷā-jana-manaḥ-Kusumasa(śa)ra | Sarasvatī-karṇṇa-kuṁḍaḷ-ābha-

30 raṇa | raṇa-raṁga-Sū(Śū)draka ity=ādi nām-ōpēta Sōma-vaṁśadoḷ=anēka siṁhāsan-ānaṁtaraṁ dig=aṁtarā-

31 ḷam=iḷida-kīrtti kīrtti[3] **Paṭṭiy-Oḍeyaṁ** dushṭa-nigraha-si(śi)shṭa-pratipāḷaṇāparan-āgi rāja-rakshitaṁ dharmmam-eṁba nuḍi-

32 yaṁ Kaṁnaḍisi dharmmamaṁ saddharmadiṁ rakshisidan=alliṁbaḷiya **Pāṁḍya-Paṭṭiy-Oḍeyaṁ** rājyaṁgeyd-alliṁ-

33 baḷike **Kaviya(y-Ā)ḷuvara** rājy-ānantaraṁ nija-kula-chikuri-śēkharan=enisida **Kula-sēkhāḷuvaraṁ**[4] sukha-

34 saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁgeiyuttire || Ā Kulaśēkhāḷuvara[4] sati **Jākala-mādēvi** rāṇi-mukha-da-

35 rppaṇam-āsvīkrite Varāṁgadalli taṭākamumaṁ dharmmamaṁ karaṁ prakaṭisidaḷ || Alliṁbaḷiyaṁ **Paṭṭiy-O-**

36 **ḍeya-Kulaśēkharadēva**[ra*] rājy-ānaṁtaraṁ [|*] Rāya-gaj-āṁkuśaṁni(śan-i)rmmaḍida-rājaṁ nūrmaḍi-chakravartti[5]

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[1] This verse is metrically defective.

[2] An ornamental design is engraved here making lines 26-32 shorter than the succeeding lines.

[3] The word *kīrtti* is redundant.

[4] Read *Kulasēkhar-Āḷu°*.

[5] This has been mistaken by Saletore to be the proper name of an Āḷupa king (*History of Tuḷuva*, p. 123)

37 dāna-chiṁtāmaṇi chatus-samudra-mudrita-kīrtti-kāntā-manōvallabhan=enisi || Abhe(bha)-yaman-aṁjibaṁdu maṟe-

38 vokkarig-aṁjad-arāti- bhūbhujargg-abhibhavamaṁ budh-āḷig-abhivāṁchchhisid-artthaman=ittu bhūtaḷakk-abhinava-vāri-rā-

39 śi-ha[ri]-kalpa-kujāta-phalaṁ bāl-ārghgha(rggha)vaṁ **Tribhuvana-Śāntara**-kshitibhujaṁ ripu-rāya-gaj-āṁkuś-āhvayaṁ ||

40 Aṁtu tribhuvana-bhava[n-ō]dara-varttit-ārtthi-sārttha-hṛidaya-saṁtarppaṇa-karaṇa-kāraṇan-appudaṟiṁ Tribhuvana-Śāṁ-

41 taran=eṁb=anvarttha-saṁjñeya[ṁ] tāḷdi ripu-rāyara-tūḷdi dharmmamaṁ pāḷisi Rājya-lakshmiyaṁ miḷisi rā-

42 jyaṁgeiyyuttiral=ā mahībhuja-nij-ānujan=apār-ōdāra-śauryy-āchāra-**Vīra**-bhūpā-

43 ḷaniṁ kiṟiyan=appa **Kuṁḍaṇa**-kshōṇipāḷan=akhiḷa-dik-pāḷa-niḷayamaṁ nija-kīrttiyiṁ dhavaḷisi

44 jagat-prasiddha-vidyā-viḷāsinī-svarṇṇa-karṇṇa-kuṁḍaḷ-ābharaṇan=appu[da*]ṟiṁ Paṁḍita-Pāṁḍyan=enisi Pāṁḍya-Dha-

45 naṁjayan=appu[da*]ṟiṁ dha[rmma]-raksha[ka]n=āge ēḷu-vapu-kāraṇadiṁ tann-**Āḷva-dēśa**doḷ munnaṁ **Varāṁgan**=eṁ-

46 ba mahāpur[usha]ṁ dharmmamaṁ māḍi nāḍ-ēḷ-baḷiyaṁ karedu kaiveḍe goṭṭadan=aṁt=appa dharmmamaṁ sudharmadiṁ

47 Kuṁḍaṇ-ōrvvīśvaraṁ rakshisi prakaṭībhūtaṁ māḍidan=ā dharmmada sīmā-saṁma(ṁba)-ṁdhav-āvud=eṁda-

48 ḍe mūḍalu [Ba]ḍanikō...teṁkalu Niḍuguṁḍigāgi baṁda paḷḷav-ā paḷḷave mēre paḍu-valuṁ baḍa-

49 galuṁ [ā] paḷḷadiṁ poṟage dēvasvamuṁ haṭivaḷanuṁ(nu)m=iṁt=ī dharmmamaṁ dēśā-dhīśvaranuṁ ēḷu-baḷiyuṁ

50 rakshisuvar=ī dharmmag-apāyavaṁ chiṁtisidaṁge paṁchamahāpātakaṁ Gaṁgā-tīradalu sahasra-

51 kapileyaṁ sahasra-bra(brā)hmaṇaraṁ koṁd-aritu pāpaṁ porddugu[ṁ] || Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ vā yō ha-

52 rētu(ta) vasuṁdharāṁ [|*] shashṭir-vvarsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi vishṭhāyaṁ jāyatē krimiṁ-(miḥ) ||[15*] Sāmānyō=

53 yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nnṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*] sarvvān-ētān-bhāginaṁ(naḥ) pārtthivēṁdrān=bhūyō bhū-

54 yō yāchatē Rāmachaṁdraḥ ||[16*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādihbiḥ [|*]

55 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ] tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [17*]

56[1] ....

57 ....

58 ....

59 .... Vishaṁ na visham=ity=āhuḥ dēvasvaṁ visham=uchyatē[|*] vi-

60 [sham=ē]kākinaṁ haṁti dēvasvaṁ putra-pautrikam || [18*]

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[1] Lines 56-58 are badly worn out.

No. 48—NOTE ON CHINCHANI PLATE OF KRISHNA III

D. C. Sircar, Calcutta

(*Received on 3. 8. 1966*)

The Chinchani plate of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-68 A.D.) was published by me in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff. The inscription refers to an interesting type of the coin called *dramma*, the importance of which has not been noticed in the said article of mine.

One of the important sections of Dr. Lallanji Gopal's work entitled *The Economic Life of Northern India*, published in 1965, is Chapter IX—Coinage System (pp. 179-224). In the said section, there is an interesting note on a variety of the *dramma* coin styled *pāruttha*, *pōruttha*, *pāraupatha*, etc. Dr. Gopal says. "C.D. Dalal takes *pāraupatha* to represent a proper name. The *Lēkhapaddhati* uses the adjectives *śrēshṭha* and *śrīmat* before *pāraupatha*. But these do not necessarily imply that *pāraupatha* was a personal name. The adjective *śrēshṭha* is for the coin and refers to its good conditions while *śrīmat*, if not used for the coin, does not by itself make *pāraupatha* the name of a king because the *Lēkhapaddhati* is literally full of cases of the use of *śrīmat* before the name of a city" (p. 198). We are inclined to disagree with the views of Dr. Gopal, which appear to be similar to those endorsed by some other scholars also.

The Sanskrit word *śrēshṭhin* meaning 'a banker' has generally become *sēṭh* or *śēṭh* in the North Indian dialects, just as it is found in the form *cheṭṭi* or *śeṭṭi* in the South. It appears that the word *sēṭh* or *śēṭh* was often re-Sanskritised as *śrēshṭha* by the medieval writers.[1] In my recently published work entitled *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, there are the following two entries of coin-names, the authority for them being the *Lēkhapaddhati* which is a medieval product of Gujarat :

1. *jīrṇa-viśvamalla-priya*, 'the favourite [coin] of old Viśvamalla';

2. *jīrṇa-śrēshṭhi-śrīmalla-priya*, 'the favourite [coin] of the old *Śrēshṭhin* Śrīmalla'.[2]

Another entry based on the same authority is *śrēshṭha-jīrṇa-viśvamalla-priya* which I have regarded as a mistake for *jīrṇa-śrēshṭhi-viśvamalla-priya*, 'the favourite [coin] of the old *Śrēshṭhin* Viśvamalla'.[3] There is also mention of *vīsalapriya-dramma* or *vīsala-prī-dramma*, 'the favourite *dramma* [coin] of Vīsala' in certain epigraphic records from Rajasthan,[4] which was apparently the same coin. The word *jīrṇa* may have been used to distinguish an old banker from other bearing the same name, since the *Prabandhakōśa* uses the expressions *jīrṇa-vyāpārin*, *jīrṇa-adhikārin* and *jīrṇa-bhṛitya* in the sense of old, retired or experienced merchants, officers and servants respectively.[5]

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[1] For similar re-Sanskritisation, cf. Sanskrit *Kṛishṇa* ∠Kannaḍa *Kannara* ∠*Karṇa* ; Sanskrit *Kṛishna* ∠Bengali *Kēshṭa* ∠*Kṛishṭa* ; Sanskrit *Jayavana* ∠Kashmiri *Zēvan* ∠*jivana* ; etc. cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* p. 425.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 1966, p. 135.

[3] Ibid., p. 316.

[4] *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 490-92.

[5] See *op. cit.*, ed. Jinavijaya, pp. 103, 127, to which my attention was drawn by S. Bandyopadhyay.

1 DGA/67

It appears that, in the above references, just as I have taken *śrēshṭha* to be a mistake for *śrēshṭhin* others are inclined to take *śrēshṭhi°* to be a mistake for *śrēshṭha*. They seem also to take *jīrṇa* or 'old' as an epithet of the coins and not as that of the lessee of the mint as I have taken it to be, while *śrēshṭha* is interpreted by them as an epithet of the coin in an excellent state of preservation. This interpretation of *śrēshṭha*, however, does not appear to me to be happy because the opposite of the word *jīrṇa* can hardly be *śrēshṭha*. The difference in the interpretations is based also on a difference in approach. Thus, whereas I have taken Viśvamalla and Śrīmalla to be bankers who obtained royal permission to issue coins, others appear to take them to be kings themselves.

The Chinchani plate of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III refers to *vyavahāruka-srēshṭa-Gaṁbhuvaka-dramma* and, while editing the inscription, I had no hesitation in suggesting the emendation of *vyavahāruka-śrēshṭa* to *vyavahārika-śrēshṭhi°*.[1] The medieval epigraphical records and works like the *Lēkhapaddhati* often use the words *vyavahārin* and *vyavahārika* as well as the contraction *vyava* in the sense of 'a dealer, money-lender or merchant'; cf. also the expression *vyavahārapaḍe* in the *Lēkhapaddhati* to mean 'as a tax from the merchants'.[2] That *vyavahārin* or *vyavahārika* were used in the sense of 'a merchant' also in the early period is indicated by certain Brāhmī inscriptions, one of them noticed in Lüders' List[3] and another dated in the 23rd year of Kanishka's reign.[4] Thus Gaṁbhuvaka mentioned in the coin-name *vyavahāruka-śrēshṭa* (i.e. *vyavahārika-śrēshṭhi*)-*Gaṁbhuvaka-dramma* occurring in the Chinchani copper-plate inscription was certainly a merchant and not a king.

It has also to be noticed that the word *śrēshṭha* occurs before the name of the person in all the cases and this seems to suggest that it is an epithet of the person and not of the coin. In the coin-name occurring in the Chinchani copper-plate inscription, *śrēshṭha* occurs along with *vyavahārika*, 'a merchant'. It is very probable, therefore, that the word is here the same as *śrēshṭhin* (as in the *Lēkhapaddhati* passage quoted above), so that Gaṁbhuvaka was a merchant and a banker.

It may be pointed out in this connection that we are also inclined to disagree with V. S. Agrawala in regard to the interpretation of a passage referring to the *pāraupatha-dramma* occurring in the *Lēkhapaddhati*.[5] The expression *haṭṭavyāvahārikya-prachalita* in the passage *śrī-Śrīmālīya-kharaṭaṅkaśālāhata-śrēshṭha-śrīmat-pāraupatha-raukyagrihīta-dramma* has been taken by him to mean *hāṭko vyavhārmēṁ ānēvālē*, i.e. 'current in the market'. We would take it in the sense of 'current among the body of merchants in the market', *vyāvahārikya* being a collective noun derived from *vyavahārin* or *vyavahārika* which are, as we have seen, well-known words meaning 'a merchant'; cf. *vyavahārikāṇāṁ* (or *vyavahāriṇāṁ*) *samūhō vyāvahārikyam* just as *Brāhmaṇānāṁ samūhō Brāhmaṇyam*. Likewise, *śrēshṭha-śrīmat-pāraupatha-raukya-grihīta dramma* means, in our opinion, 'the *dramma* [coin] accepted in cash payment by the illustrious *Śrēshṭhin*(banker) Pāraupatha'. For 'cash' or 'cash payment' as the meaning of *raukya*, references may be made to its modern form *rok*.[6]

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXV, p. 60 (text line 38) and note 4. It is interesting to note that, in this case, Gopal has accepted our interpretation (ibid., p. 224).

[2] See Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Glos.*, p. 383.

[3] See p. 222.

[4] Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1965 ed., p. 146.

[5] *DNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

[6] See Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s.v. *rok*.

No. 49—ANVALDA PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF SOMESVARA AND PRITHVIRAJA III

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Mysore

(*Received on 2. 8. 1965*)

The two inscriptions edited below and called **A** and **B** are engraved on one and the same pillar found at Ānvaldā near Jahāzpur in the Bhilwara District of the Udaipur Division, Rajasthan, and now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. They have been published by Dr. R. C. Agrawala in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 69-72. The first inscription, i.e. Inscription **A**, is engraved at the top and belongs to the reign of the Chāhamāna king Pṛithvīrāja III while the second record, i.e. Inscription **B**, is engraved in continuation of the first one and refers itself to the reign of Sōmēśvara, father and predecessor of Pṛithvīrāja III. Both the records are written in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language.

The date of Inscription **A** has been read differently by the scholars who have dealt with these records. Thus D. R. Bhandarkar noticed it as early as 1906 in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for that year, p. 62 (No. 2224), and read the date as V.S. 1244, Phālguna śudi 13, Friday. He has also subsequently noticed it in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 412 where he has given the same date for this inscription.[1] G. H. Ojha mentions the date as V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 11 (without week-day) in his book *History of Rajputana* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 362.[2] In the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1954-55, Appendix B, No. 497, the date of this epigraph has been given as V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 12, Thursday, with its English equivalent 11th February, 1188 A.D. The same reading of the date is also given by Dr. R.C. Agrawala.[3]

As regards the date of the second record, i.e. Inscription **B**, both D.R. Bhandarkar and G.H. Ojha read it as V.S. 1234, Bhādrapada śudi 4, Friday which has been followed by R.C. Agrawala[4] and D. C. Sircar.[5]

We do not agree with the reading of the dates of both the inscriptions (**A** and **B**) as given by the scholars mentioned above. In our opinion the date of the first record (i.e. **A**) should be read as **V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 13, Śukravāra (Friday)**. The last figure in the given year is clearly *5* and not *4* as taken by Bhandarkar, while the second figure in the *tithi* is likewise clearly *3* and not *1* or *2* as read by others. Similarly there is no doubt that the name of the week-day reads *Śukra* instead of *Guru*.

In the date of the second epigraph (i.e. **B**), the given *tithi* is clearly *5* and not *4*. For instance, we may contrast this figure *5* with that for *4* in the same line in V.S. 1234 and compare it with

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[1] This reading of the date has been followed by H.C. Ray, *Dyn. Hist. of N. India*, Vol. II, p. 1084 and Dr. D.C. Sircar, above Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 7.

[2] This record is not noticed by him in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1922-23, where he has noticed Inscription B.

[3] *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, p. 69.

[4] Ibid., p. 71.

[5] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 5.

5 in V.S. 1245 in Inscription **A.** Thus the correct reading of the date of Inscription **B** would be **V.S. 1234, Bhādrapada śudi 5, Friday.**

Having dealt with the dates of the two epigraphs, we may now discuss a few other points. As already pointed out, both these records are engraved on the same pillar and Inscription B, is written below that of A. D.R. Bhandarkar does not seem to be aware of this fact since he mentions Inscription B in his List No. 380 as Ānvaldā Inscription and Inscription A under List No. 412 as Udaipur Victoria Hall Museum Inscription.[1] While editing the Bārlā inscription[2] of Pṛithvīrāja III, Dr. Sircar has referred to the fact that the Ānvaldā pillar contained two inscriptions (as pointed out by Dr. Agrawala)[3] but apparently it has escaped his notice that Inscription A is the same as No. 412 of Bhandarkar's List which is mentioned by him, possibly due to the fact that the date was read as V.S. 1244 instead of V.S. 1245.

Now the date V.S. 1234, Bhādrapada of Inscription B has been taken to be the last known date of the Chāhamāna king Sōmēśvara while the earliest known date for his son and successor Pṛithvīrāja is provided by the Bārlā inscription dated V.S. 1234, Chaitra śudi 4.[4] In order to get over the difficulty of obtaining an earlier date (i.e. *Chaitra*) for the son, U.C. Bhattacharya and R. C. Agrawala suggested that the Vikrama year was *Śrāvaṇādi*, so that the month of Bhādrapada of the Ānvaldā record would fall earlier than the month of *Chaitra* of the same year, i.e. V.S. 1234 mentioned in the Bārlā epigraph.[5]

Dr. Sircar states that the date of the Ānvaldā record, wherein the *tithi* has been taken as *śudi 4*, regularly corresponds to August 18, 1178 A.D. which would show that the Vikrama year began after the month of Bhādrapada.[6] He further suggests that in view of this, the date of the Bārlā inscription of Pṛithvīrāja III, viz. V.S. 1234, *Chaitra*, should be regarded as a mistake for V.S. 1235, *Chaitra*. But as pointed out by us before, the *tithi* in the Ānvaldā record of Sōmēśvara of V.S. 1234 has to be read as *śudi 5* and not *śudi 4* which would make it an irregular date unless we regard that *śudi* 5 is a mistake for *śudi* 4. But the most important consideration in regard to this inscription, which has been overlooked by the scholars who have dealt with the problem, is the fact, as already indicated, that this epigraph of Sōmēśvara of V.S. 1234 is written below and as a sort of a continuation of a record of a later date, viz. V.S. 1245, falling in the reign of his son Pṛithvīrāja III. A close examination of the script of the two records would show that they have been engraved by the same hand. This would suggest that the record of Sōmēśvara of V.S. 1234 is not a contemporary one but was put on stone along with the other record in V.S. 1245, i.e. 11 years later. Thus the inscription seems to record an earlier event which took place in the reign of Sōmēśvara and the genuineness of the date may not be beyond doubt as the engraver might have committed some mistake in recording the event 11 or 12 years later. If this view is accepted, then there is no need to regard the date V.S. 1234 *Chaitra* of the Bārlā inscription of Pṛithvīrāja III as a mistake for V.S. 1235 *Chaitra* as has been suggested by Dr. Sircar.

We do not agree with Dr. Agrawala in regard to the purport of Inscription A also. He suggests, following G. H. Ojha, that it records the death of Jēhaḍa, a Dōḍyā chief. He reads, after the word Jēhaḍa in line 2, the word *dēvalōka* . . . . which has led him to the above conclusion.

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[1] Ojha, however, refers to this fact in his *History of Rājputānā* (Hindi), Vol.I, p. 362.

[4] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, note 3.

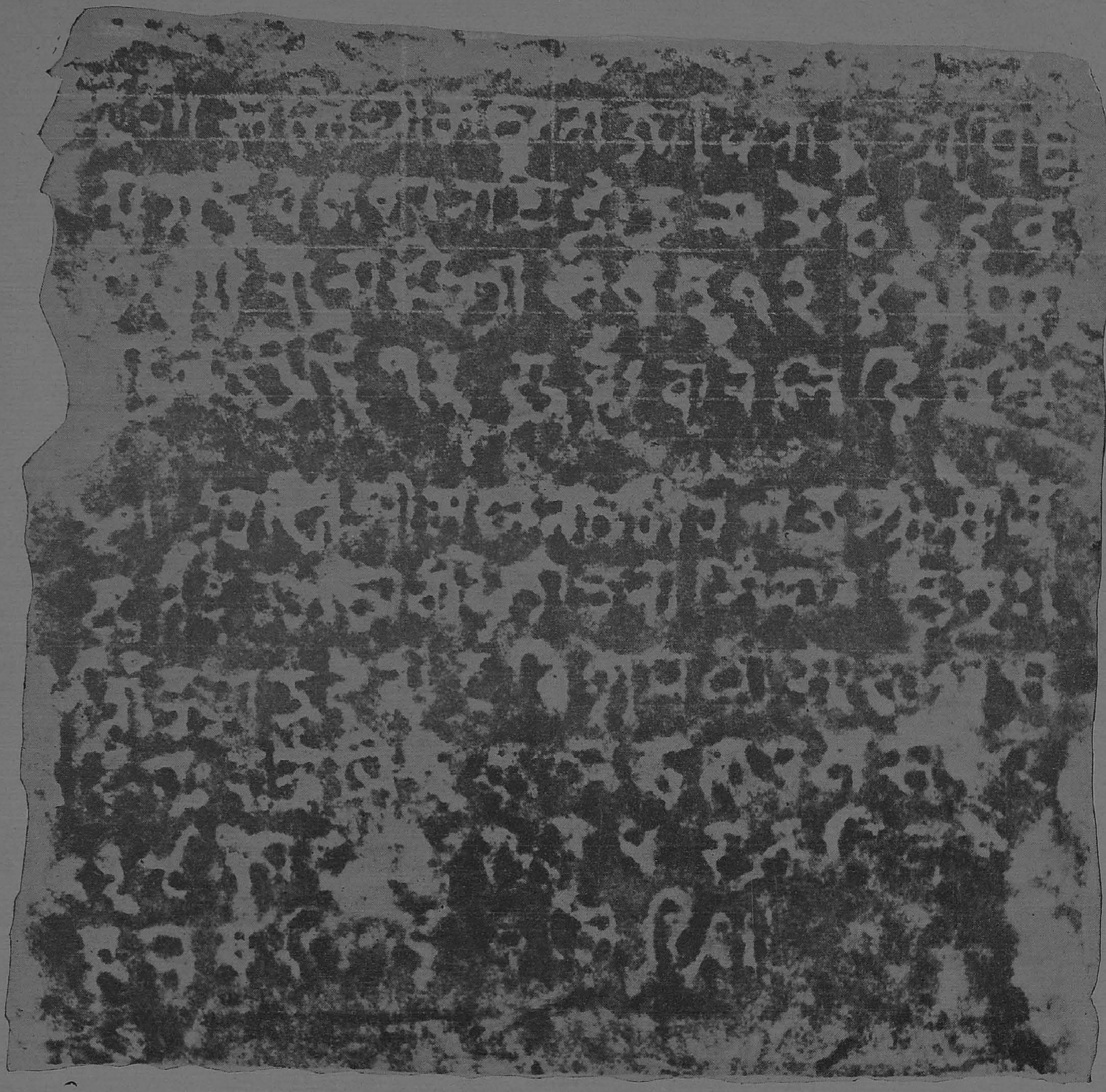
[3] This fact is also noticed in the *A.R.Ep.*, 1954-55, No. B 497, in the remarks column.

[4] Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 299 ff.

[5] *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Jaipur, 1951, p. 328; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, p. 71.

[6] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 5.

ANVALDA PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF SOMESVARA AND PRITHVIRAJA III



Scale : Three-fourth

But the reading is clearly *Jēhaḍa ḍēvalikā karāpitā* which evidently stands for *Jēhaḍa ḍēvakulikā kārāpitā* and which means that Jēhaḍa caused to be constructed a small temple (*ḍēvakulikā*).

It is difficult to make out the purport of Inscription **B** since the record is badly damaged. It seems to record the construction of something by Ḍōḍarā-Siṁgharā in association with his son Jindarā, daughter (*duhitā*) Udēvī and wife (*patnī*) Sākha[rā].

We give below the texts of the two inscriptions as read by us :

TEXT[1]

Inscription A

1 Ōm || Svasti śrī [|*] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Pri(Pṛi)thvī-**

2 **rājadēva**-mahārājyē Ḍōḍarā-Jēhaḍa dēva[ku*]-

3 likā ka(kā)rāpitā **Saṁvat 1245 Phā-**

4 **[lgu]na sudi 13 Śukravārē** lihi(khi)ta[m=iti] [|*]

Inscription B[2]

1 Ōṁ || Svasti śrī- [|*] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Sōmē-**

2 **śvaradēva**-mahārājyē Ḍōḍarā-Siṁgharā sutaḥ

3 Jiṁdarā Udēvī duhitā patnī Sākha[rā] sa-

4 hitaḥ ka(kā)rāpit(tā).... **Saṁvat**

5 **[1]234 Bhādra[pada] śudi 5 Śukra-dinē**

6 ...li[khi]tam=iti ||

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[1] From the impressions.

[2] This is engraved in continuation of Inscription A.

No. 50—FOUR STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOA

(*2 Plates*)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

(*Received on 21.7.1966*)

A combined archaeological and epigraphical survey of the territory of Goa was undertaken during the months of April and May, 1965 by the Archaeological Survey of India. I was deputed by the Government Epigraphist for India to take part in this survey work on behalf of his office. In the course of the survey, over 20 inscriptions on stone, in Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Marāṭhī languages, were copied. Three of the important inscriptions[1] in that collection (Nos. I, II and IV below) as also another inscription[2] copied by me in 1963-64 (No. III below) are being edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

I. Arvaḷem Cave Inscription

This inscription was found engraved on a pillar set up in shrine No. 3 of cave No. 3 at the mining village of **Arvaḷem** (locally pronounced as Haravaḷe) in the Bicholim Taluk. The pillar has a circular top. The inscription is engraved on a narrow rectangular surface in between the base of the circular top and the octagonal stem of the pillar.

The inscription consists of a single line written in Southern **characters** of the 5th century A.D. The letters bear on top small box-heads and are comparable to those found in the Kadamba inscriptions of the same period as, for instance, the Tāḷagunda inscriptions of Kākusthavarman[3] and Mṛigēśavarman.[4] Besides, the letters may be generally compared with those in the copper-plate charters of the Kadambas of the period in question.

Medial *ī* is distinguished from medial *i* by a hook inside. In the conjunct letter *mb*, the subscript *b*, is connected to the superscript *m* by a vertical line nearly 1.5 cm long and drawn on the right side. *Visarga* is represented by the usual two dots, one below the other, at the very end of the inscription. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit.

The inscription under study reads[5] : *Sāmbalūra-vāsī Raviḥ*

The text may be translated as follows : Ravi, the resident of **Sāmbalūrav.**

It is likely that the inscribed pillar was originally set up in the same shrine of the cave, where it is now found and hence Sāmbalūra may be taken to have been the ancient name by which modern Arvaḷem was known in the fifth century.

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[1] They are noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1965-66 as Nos. B 39, 52 and 54 respectively.

[2] This is B 93 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff., and plate.

[4] *MAR*, 1911, plate IV, No. II.

[5] From impressions.

The shape of the pillar on which the inscription is engraved provides a clue for the identification of Ravi. As has been already pointed out above, the top front of the pillar is circular representing the sun-god and *Ravi* of the inscription possibly stands for this Sun god. In that case the prevalence of sun-worship in the Goa region during the early period in question is incidentally evidenced by the Arvaḷem inscription.

II. Nundem Inscription of Sīharāja.

Nundem (locally pronounced Nūne) is a small village in the Sanguem Taluk and the inscription edited here was found engraved on a loose slab lying outside the Mahāmāyā temple. In the main shrine of the temple is found installed an image of Pārvatī, an exact though poor copy of an earlier image which lies in a broken state in the right side corner inside the same shrine.

The inscription, consisting of eleven lines, is engraved in Southern **characters** of about the 5th century A. D. and its **language** is Sanskrit. The letters in lines 2-5 are written with horizontal lines at the top as is the modern practice in writing *Dēvanāgarī*. Faint traces of this horizontal line are noticeable in lines 1, 6 and 7 also.

The inscription is undated but, as stated above, it may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the 5th century A.D. The letters in the present eipgraph are comparable to those in the two Kadamba records referred to while discussing the palaeography of inscription No. I above and also to those in the Halmiḍi inscription[1] of Kākusthavarman and the Shimoga plates[2] of Māndhāta.[3] Among interesting palaeographical features may be mentioned the occurrence of two types of tripartite *y*, the one with the left limb vertical (as in line 4) and the other with the left limb tending to curve inwards (as in line 7). While in the letter *k*, the left vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter is not joined to the middle horizontal stroke (lines 4, 6 and 10), the letter *k* occurs in two types in its superscript form : with the left vertical line joined to the middle horizontal stroke (as in line 4) and without the left vertical line at all (as in line 10). The symbol for *upadhmānīya* in *yaḫpañcha* (lines 2-3) is interesting, with two dots engraved side by side at a height of 1 cm from the left top of the letter *p*. Among initial vowels, *i* and *ē* occur once each in lines 7 and 9 respectively. Final *m* is changed into *anusvāra* in all instances ; and the class nasal *ñ* occurs as the subscript twice in lines 7 and 11 and as the superscript once in line 3. Among orthographical features may be noticed the doubling of *v* when preceded by *r* (line 8).

The inscription commences with the auspicious words *svasti śrī* which are immediately followed by an imprecatory passage in lines 1-5 declaring that the five great sins will attach to anyone who seeks to misappropriate a *dēvasva*.

The next sentence in lines 5-7 reads *vivardhamānivāpa panasaka iti vijñēyaḥ*, the exact meaning of which is not clear. It will be seen that the inscription subsequently records the grant of a *panasakā-kshētra*. The above sentence in all probability means that the *panasakā-kshētra* referred to subsequently was of high yield and of one *vāpa* in extent. Lines 7-11 contain the grant portion, the details of which are as follows :

Sīharāja made a grant of one gateway (*dvāra*) to the deity Pārvvati-svāminī and of one *panasakā-kshētra* (a grove of jack-fruit trees) and one gateway to the god Ēlasvāmin.

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[1] *MAR*, 1936, plate XXII.

[2] Ibid., 1911, plate II.

[3] While the letters in the Arvaḷem inscription bear small box-heads, those in the Nundem inscription are written without them.

Pārvati-svāmin means the temple built in honour of Pārvatī.[1] As has been pointed out above the Mahāmāyā temple houses, in its main shrine, an old and damaged image of goddess Pārvatī. It is likely that *Pārvatisvāminaḥ* (lines 7-8) is a mistake for *Pārvati-svāminyai* and that the recipient of the first grant was the goddess Pārvatī herself. Ēlasvāmi[2] denotes the temple of Ēla which appears to have been the local name of Pārvatī's consort (i. e. Śiva).

The reference to Sīharāja as the donor is interesting. Sīharāja is the Prākrit form of Siṁharāja. Since he does not receive any titles whatever, it is likely that he was only a local chieftain. The early history of Goa is still shrouded in mystery. The territory of Goa and the adjacent district of North Kanara as well as portions of the Belgaum district were under the sway of two ancient dynasties, the Bhōjas and the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ, during fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. The earliest copper-plate grant[3] of the Bhōjas belongs to the reign of Dēvarāja and has been assigned to the 4th century A.D., while the earliest known copper-plate grant of the Mauryas belongs to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. and to the reign of Chandravarman.[4] Siṁharāja may have been the subordinate of a ruler belonging to either of these dynasties.

TEXT[5]

1 Svasti śrī [|*] Dēva-
2 svaṁ harati ya-
3 ḥ=pañcha-mahā-pā-
4 taka saṁyuktō bha-
5 vati [|*] Vivardhamā-
6 ni vāpa panasaka
7 iti vijñēyaḥ [|*] Pā-
8 rvvatisvāminaḥ(nē) dvā-
9 raṁ da[ktaṁḥ(ttaṁ)] Ēlasvāminaḥ(nē)
10 panasakā-kshētraṁ dvāraṁ cha
11 dattā(ttē) **Sīharājñā** [||*]

III. Inscription of Kadamba Jayakēśin I, Śaka 97[6]

The inscription edited below was found engraved on a slab lying in the square of the convent of Francis of Assisi in Old Goa, Tisvadi Taluk. The slab consists of three sculptured panels below each of which the present inscription is engraved in three sections. The left bottom of the last panel is broken off resulting in the loss of a few letters in the last five lines of the inscription and in the total loss of further lines. The break starts at the left margin and runs at a tangent towards the middle of the bottom as a result of which the number of letters lost in each line increases progressively.

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[1] *Svāmin* at the end of a compound has frequently the meaning of 'a temple or shrine built by,' or 'a temple in honour of'.—Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1872), s. v.

[2] This name reminds us of Eliśrī, the Chief of the *Talavaras*, figuring in an Ikshvāku inscription of the 3-4th century A.D. from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (see *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 5). Some 13th century inscriptions from Ēlēśvaram, Devarakonda Taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh, record certain endowments made for the worship of god Ēlēśvara (see ibid., 1954-55, Nos. B. 134-35 and 146).

[3] Above., Vol. XXIV, pp. 143-45 and ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-40.

[4] *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 181-84, and above Vol. XXXIII, p, 294.

[5] From impressions.

The record is engraved in Kannaḍa **characters** and **language** of the 11th century. The top panel consists of 9 lines of writing, the central panel of 6 lines and the available portion of the third panel has 10 lines of writing. The letters are indifferently engraved and the inscription is illegiblei n parts.

From the **palaeographical** point of view, the letters are regular for the period to which the inscription belongs, i.e. the middle of the 11th century A.D. The formation of initial *u* in the word *utkaṭa* (line 8) is noteworthy. While the main letter has the shape of Telugu *u*, there is a leftward curve starting from the top of the letter and running downwards outside the left of the letter. As regards **orthographical** peculiarities, it may be pointed out that class nasals occur in some cases while in others they are replaced by the sign for *anusvāra*. *Ṇ*, *t* and *m* are doubled when preceded by *r*.

The **date** of the inscription is given in lines 20-22. The available details read **Śaka 97., Jaya,..kha bahuḷa 1, Monday.** On the strength of the cyclic year the Śaka year can be restored as 976. The last letter in the name of the month, viz. *kha* suggests that the intended month was *Vaiśākha*. For Śaka 976, Jaya, Vaiśākha ba. 1, Monday, the equivalent correctly works out to **1054 A. D., April 25.**

The inscription is of importance for the history of the Kadamba dynsaty of Goa. It is one of the very few inscriptions known for the reign of Jayakēśin I and is the first stone inscription of the said ruler to be edited in the pages of this journal.

The inscription commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* and goes on to give a long list of laudatory epithets of Aṇṇayya, the *dharma-mantri* of **Paṁjaṇakhaṇi.** The purpose for which the inscription was engraved must have followed the details of date but is now irretrievably lost in the missing portion of the third and last panel.

Aṇṇayya is mentioned (lines 1-3) as dwelling at the feet of *samadhigata-pamcha-mahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*-**Bī(Vī)ravarmmadēva.** The epithets borne by Vīravarmma, the absence of any other Kadamba ruler of Goa bearing that name and the date of the inscription all suggest the likelihood of Vīravarmma being none other than Jayakēśin I himself.

Aṇṇayya is further described in lines 3-6 as the servant of the good, as the sun for the lotus which is the royalty of entire Karṇāṭaka, as the *vajra-daṇḍa* of the mountain which is the unfriendly enemy to the Kādamba dynasty, as the very Bhīma on battle-fields, as ferocious in wars, as the hero of battles fought on lawful grounds and as the great arm of the god of Love. Lines 6-8 describe him as Bīravarmmadēva's coat of mail, as the exemplary servant of Jayakēśidēva and as furious in wars. Towards the end of line 8 the city of **Chandrāpura** is mentioned but the context is not known because the succeeding line is illegible. But from what follows in line 10. it may be inferred that Aṇṇayya is being lauded for stoutly defending the city of Chandrāpura, which was one of the capital cities of the Goa Kadamba rulers.

Lines 10-15 further eulogise Aṇṇayya as the tiara on the forehead of the lord of the west, as having caused the forces of **Aṇṇalladēva** to be scattered in all directions, as the chief servant of **Arakayya,** as having been born of a pure *gōtra,* as a connoisseur of music, vocal and instrumental, and dancing, as great in war, as the very Vainatēya to the serpents in the form of the western rulers and as a fortunate being.

Lines 15-19 introduce Aṇṇayya, adorned with all the epithets explained above, as the *dharma-mantri* of Paṁjaṇakhaṇi and state that his victorious career was in progress (at the time of the writing of the record). Lines 20-25 contain the details of the date discussed above.

It is interesting to note that the inscription does not expressly refer itself to the reign of Jayakēśin I. But the date of the record and the reference to Aṇṇayya as the exemplary servant of Jayakēśin clearly show that the epigraph does belong to Jayakēśin I's reign. If the possibility suggested above is accepted, this record would reveal for the first time that Jayakēśin I had the second name of Vīravarmma. The epithet *paḍavaḷ-ēndra* (lord of the west) applied to the Kadamba ruler in the present record provides us with the Kannaḍa equivalent of the well-known Sanskrit epithet *paśchima-samudr-ādhīśvara* borne by the rulers of that dynasty.

Many of the epithets borne by Aṇṇayya are of historical interest. He is described as the very thunderbolt to the enemies of the Kadamba ruler and as the tiara on his master's forehead. He is stated to have defeated one Aṇṇalladēva. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to identify this name with that of any known ruler nor do we know the territory which was under his sway.

The record under study states that Aṇṇayya was the chief servant of Arakayya. The latter is not known from any other source. He may have been a subordinate or a senior official to whom Aṇṇayya owed his appointment.

Aṇṇayya is further described as having vanquished the western rulers. His master Jayakēśin I is known to have conquered the Āḷupas, the Śilāhāra ruler of Northern Koṅkaṇ and the Lāṭa ruler.[1] The territories under the sway of these rulers lay along the west coast. It is likely that Aṇṇayya played a clinching role in the triumphs of his master over those chieftains and hence, the epithet.

The designation of Aṇṇayya as *dharma-mantri* and Paṁjaṇakhaṇi as the name of the place which fell under his jurisdiction are both interesting. The designation reminds us of the *dharma-mahāmātras* who were appointed to promote his preachings by the Mauryan emperor Aśōka (273-32 B.C.). The nature of the duties which were attached to Aṇṇayya as *dharma-mantri* is not, however, known. **Paṁjaṇakhaṇi** appears to be the same as Panjim (locally pronounced Paṇaji), the modern capital city of the territory of Goa. The other place mentioned in the record, **Chandrāpura** is the same as modern Chandore, Madgaon Taluk, Goa.

TEXT[2]

1 Svasti [||*] Samadhigata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda Mahāmaṇḍaḷē-

2 śvaraṁ śrīmatu **Bīravarmmadēvara** divya-śrī-pā-

3 da-padm-ōpajīvigaḷ-appa [sā]dhu-bhri(bhṛi)tyaṁ samasta-[Ka]-

4 [rṇṇā]ṭa-kuḷa-kamaḷa-mārttaṇḍa[ṁ] Kadaṁba-rāja[r-a]hita-ri[pu]-

5 giri-vajra-daṇḍa[ṁ] raṇa-raṁ[ga]-[Bhīmaṁ*] [kada]na-prachaṇḍaṁ [dha]-

6 rmm-āji-gaṇḍaṁ paṁchāyūdha-mahā-bāhaṁ Bīravarmma-

7 dēva-sannāhaṁ Jaykē(yakē)sidēvar-ādarśa-baṁṭaṁ saṁ-

8 grāma-ütkaṭṭha(ṭa)ṁ **Chaṁdrāpura** . . . .

9 . . . .

[1] *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 179 ff.

[2] From impressions.

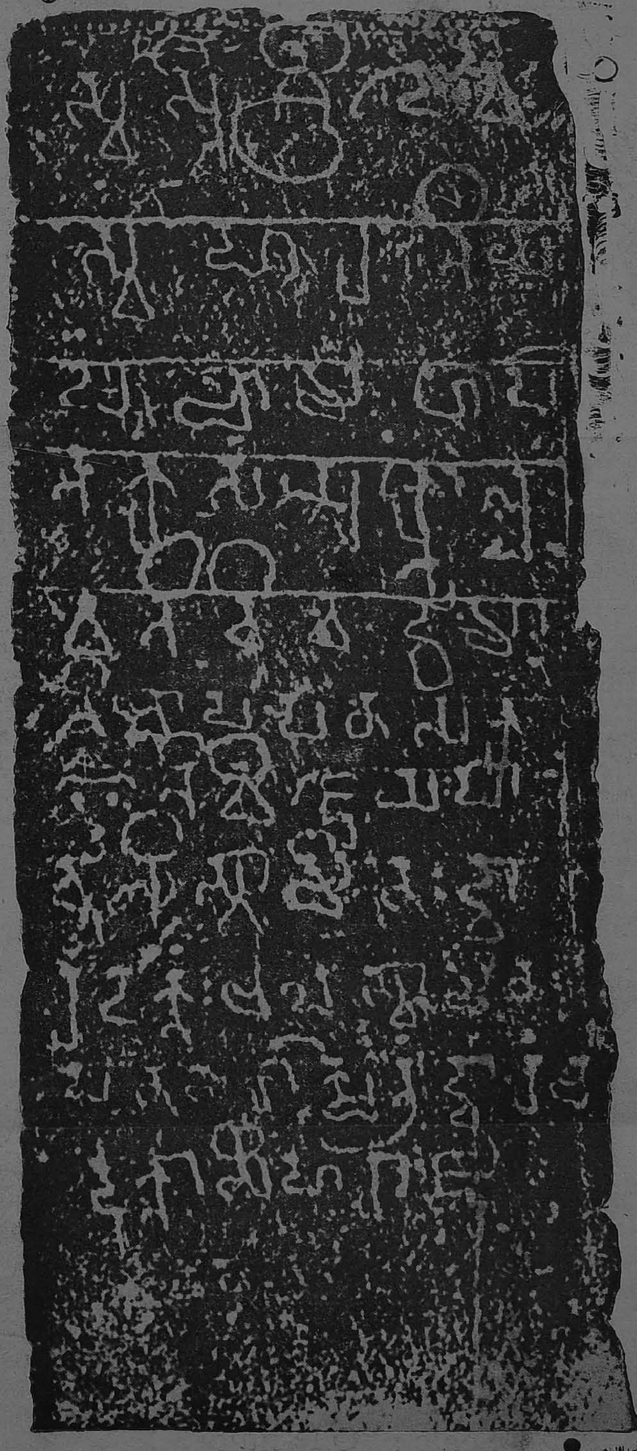
FOUR STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOA — PLATE I

I—Arvaḷem Cave Inscription



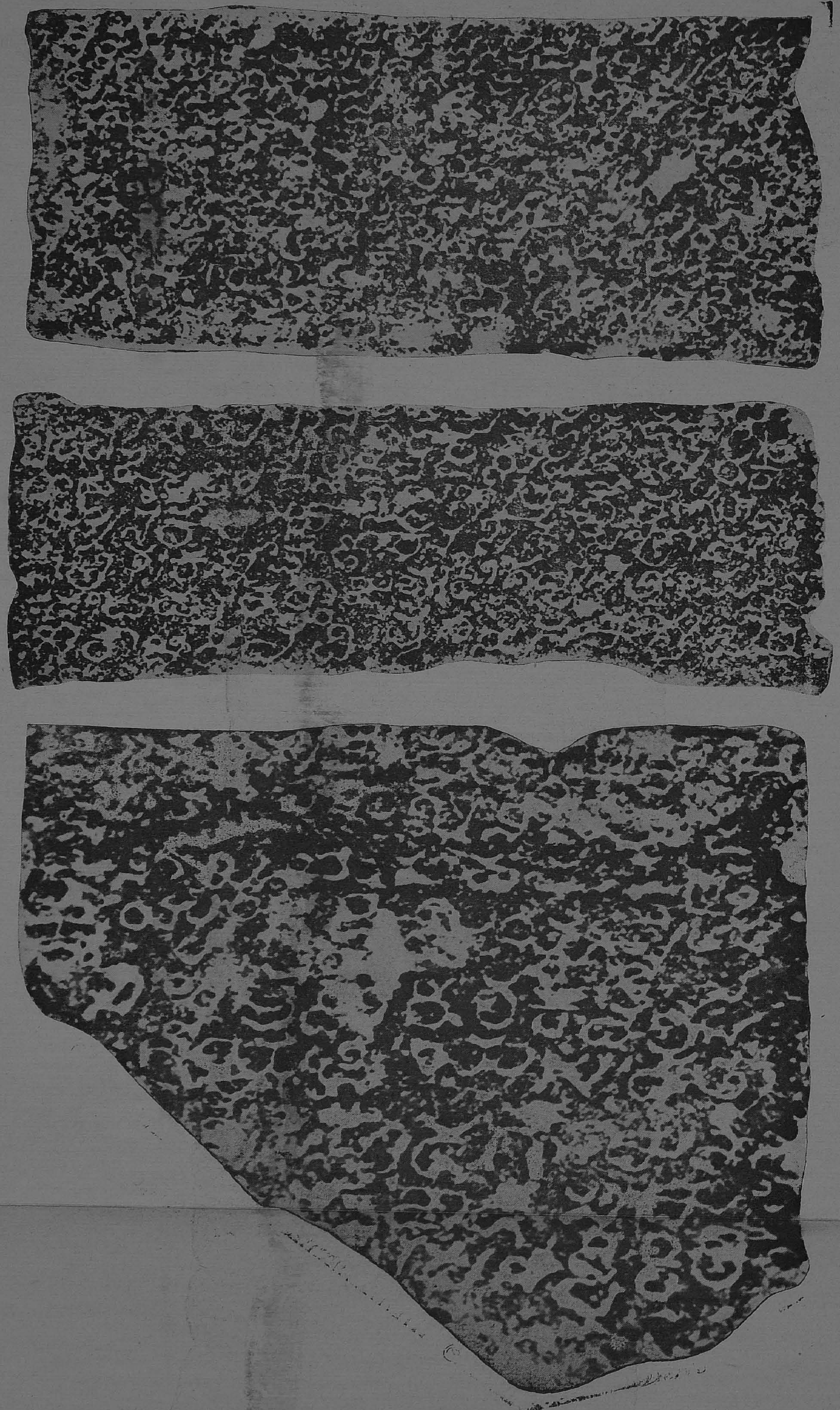
Scale : One-fourth

II—Nundem Inscription of Sīharāja



Scale : One-third

III—Inscription of Kadamba Jayakēśin I, Śaka 976



Scale : One-half

10 baḷavaṭṭaṇa-khaṇḍaṇa-kaṁṭa-ku[ḍm a]]ḷaṁ Paḍavaḷ-ēndra-[la]-

11 ḷāṭa-paṭṭaṁ **Aṇṇalladēva**-disā(śā)-paṭṭaṁ **Ara[ka]-**

12 **yyan**-aṁka[kā]ṟaṁ nija-gōtr-ō[dbha]vaṁ gīta-vā-

13 dya-nri(nṛi)tya-karṇṇ-āvaḷōkana-sīḷaṁ | saṁgrāma-nī-

14 ḍaṁ paḍavaḷa-rāja-bhujaṁga-Vainatēyaṁ de-

15 sekāṟa-dēvaṁ(va)mi=ty-ādi samasta-biru-

16 dāvaḷī-samaḷaṁkṛitar=appa śrī-

17 mat-**Paṁjaṇakhaṇiya** Paṁ-

18 jaṇakhaṇiya[1] dharṁma-maṁtry-**A-**

19 **ṇṇayyaṁgaḷ**-vijay-ākshayaṁ

20 saluttam=ire **Śaka-varśa(rsha) 97-**

21 **[6]neya Jaya saṁvatsa-**[2]

22 **[ra Vaiśā]kha bahuḷa 1 Sōmavāra**[2]

23 . . . . . doḷ sama[sta]

24 . . . . prasiddhi-kīrt[t]i

25 . . . .

IV. Betgi Inscription

The stone slab bearing the inscription edited below was found lying under a mango tree on the banks of a narrow stream called Vhaḷ about two furlongs from the village of **Betgi** proper in the Phonda Taluk of Goa.

The inscription consists of four lines in all, the last line being engraved on a narrow strip about an inch above the first three lines. The record is engraved in Kannaḍa characters of about the 12th century A.D. Letters in line 3 are smaller in size than those in the other three lines. The only palaeographical peculiarity worth noticing is the placing of the semi-circular stroke representing subscript *k* in *kka* at the very bottom of superscript *ka* unlike at the middle of the superscript as is the usual practice. There are no orthographical features worth mentioning.

The inscription is not dated but the record, as has been stated above, is assignable to the 12th centruy on palaeographical grounds. It does not refer itself to the reign of any king but the provenance of the inscription shows that it must have been engraved during the reign of a 12th century Kadamba ruler of Goa.

The inscription records the death of Jaya, the *prabhu* of Bettugi and servant (*vēḷe*) of Poshṭhadēva, the gate-keeper (*mahāpaḍiyara*) of the army camp of the crowned king. The record states that Poshṭhadēva was endowed with all the (usual) epithets and that he hailed from Vagiṇi. The record was written by *sūtradhāri* Tikkama.

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[1] This word is superfluous.

[2] Lost letters have been restored in this line.

The expression *paṭṭa-taṁtrapāḷeyada mahāpaḍiyara* is interesting. In the context in which it occurs, I choose to interpret the expression as follows: *taṁtra* means, among other things, an army; *pāḷeya* means an encampment or camp; *paṭṭa* means head of the State, royalty etc. In the designation *mahāpaḍiyara*, *paḍiyara* is the *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *pratīhāra* meaning a male door-keeper. Thus, Poshṭhadēva was holding the post of chief gate-keeper in the army camp of the ruling king and the deceased Jaya appears to have served under him in the army camp. The reference to Jaya as the *vēḷe* of Poshṭhadēva is also interesting. The equivalent of the Kannaḍa expression *vēḷekāṟa* meaning 'a watchman' occurs in Tamil as *vēḷaikkāṟar*[1] meaning trusted warriors ever prepared and ready to lay down their lives in the service of their overlord. It is very likely that *vēḷekāṟa* came to be used in its contracted form as *vēḷe* in course of time.

Among the place names occurring in the record, **Bettugi** is the same as Betgi, the findspot of the inscribed slab. **Vagiṇi** may be the same as modern Vaiṅgaṇi, a village in the Bicholim Taluk.

TEXT[2]

1 Svasti [||*] Samasta-prasasti-sa[3]hitaṁ śrīmatu paṭṭa-taṁtrapāḷeya-

2 da mahāpaḍiyara[4] **Vagiṇiya** Poshṭhadēvana vēḷe **Bettu-**

3 **giya** prabhu **Jaya** sattanu[5]

4 Sūtradhāri Tikkamana bara[ha] [||*]

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[1] See *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, *Epigraphical Glossary*, p. xc.

[2] From impressions.

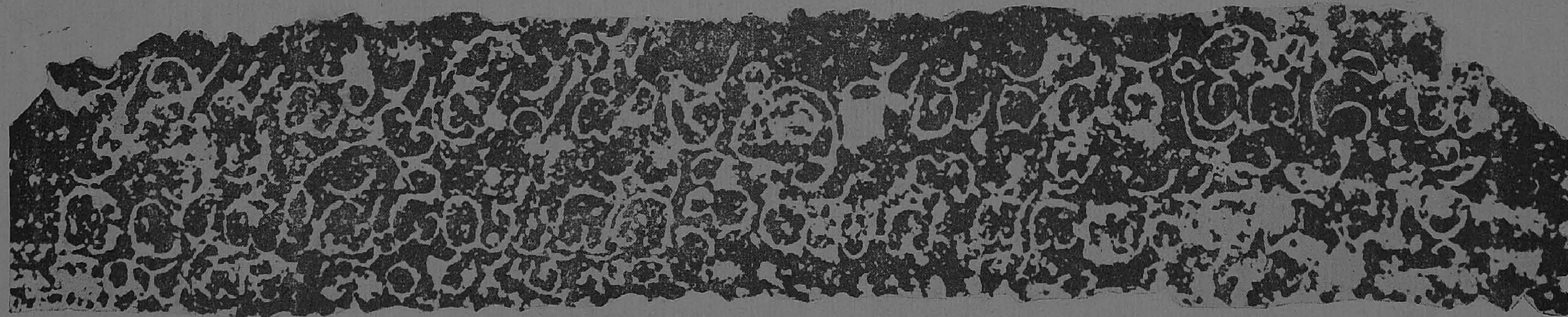
[3] The two letters *sti* and *sa* are engraved above the line.

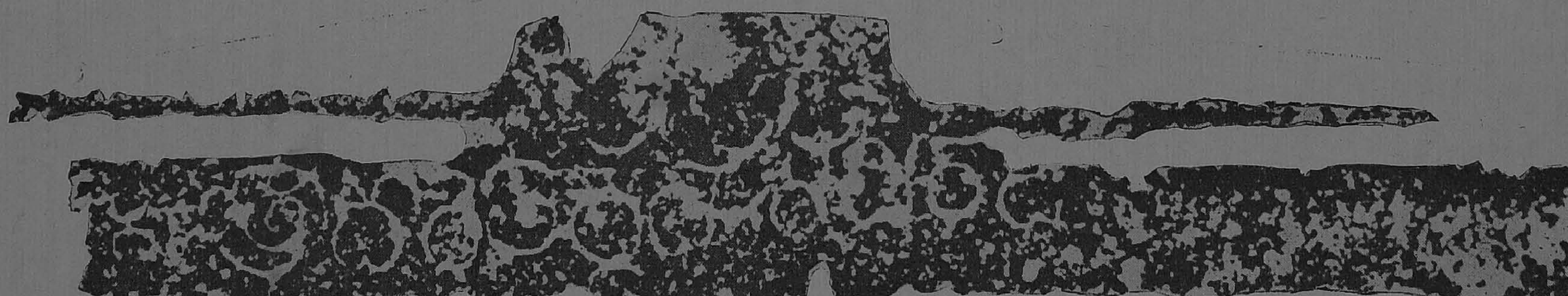
[4] The letter *ra* is engraved above the line.

[5] There is a punctuation mark at the end.

MGIPC—S1—1 DGA/67—6-4-70—750.

IV—Betgi Inscription

2  2

4  4

Scale : Two-thirds

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

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PLATES

No. 51--PASCHIMBHAG PLATE OF SRICHANDRA, YEAR 5

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Calcutta

(Received on 20.10.67)

Of the five copper-plate grants of king Śrīchandra of the Chandra dynasty of South-East Bengal, discovered before the middle of the present century, four have been already published, *viz.* the Rāmpāl, Kēdārpur, Madanpur and Dhullā plates, the Idilpur plate, which is untraceable now, still remaining unedited.[1] Recently another copper-plate inscription of Śrīchandra was discovered at the village of **Paśchimbhāg** in the Sylhet District of East Pakistan. In the year 1958 Shri Binod Bihari Chakravarti accidentally noticed a corner of the plate sticking out of the ground in a vacant plot of land in the said village. The inscribed plate was dug up and, soon afterwards, it passed into the custody of Pandit Shyamapada Kavyatirtha Bhattacharya of the village of Bhūmiurā near Paśchimbhāg. In 1961, Janab Aminur Rashid Chaudhuri of Sylhet acquired it from the Pandit for the Historical and Archaeological Society, Sylhet. The copper-plate inscription, now preserved in the Museum of the said Society, was published with Plates by Shri Kamala Kanto Gupta Chaudhury of the Sylhet Bar in the *Nalinī Kānta Bhaṭṭaśālī Commemoration Volume* (pp. 166 ff. and Plates XXXVI-XXXVII), edited by Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah and published by the Dacca Museum in 1966.[2] Although the preservation of the writing seems to be fairly satisfactory, certain parts of the illustration of the writing on both sides of the plate are indistinct. For the reading of a few indistinct sections, one has, therefore, to depend more or less on Gupta Chaudhury. Unfortunately his transcript and translation of the new verses found only in this record are not free from errors. The great importance of the epigraph for the political and cultural history of Bengal induces us to re-edit it in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, so that it may be easily available to the students of Indian history.

The inscription is written on both sides of a **single plate** having raised rims and measuring 17.5″×12″×.25″, the seal affixed to its upper fringe leading to the break in the continuity of the writing in the first two lines on both the obverse and the reverse. The emblem on the **seal** is the *Dharmachakra* found on the seals not only of the other records of Śrīchandra and of those of the other rulers of the Chandra family, but also on those of other Buddhist rulers of Bengal including the Pālas. The legend in the lower part of the surface of the seal reads *Śrī-Śrīchandradēva*. The weight of the plate together with the seal is said to be about 11.5 seers (about 23 pounds). The charter (cf. line 58) was issued on the **5th day of the month of Vaiśākha in the 5th regnal year of Śrīchandra** (c. 925-75 A.D.), *i.e.* about 930 A.D., although the grant had been made on the occasion of the sun's **Śrāvaṇa-saṅkrānti** (cf. line 55). Since *Śrāvaṇa* is the name of the fourth solar month of the Bangali year, the reference is probably to the sun's entry into the *Karkaṭa-rāśi*. Unfortunately, in Bengal at present, the expression **Śrāvaṇa-saṅkrānti** means the end of the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. In any case, this seems to be one of the earliest records of the Chandra king whose latest known date, supplied by the Madanpur plate referred to above, is the regnal year 46.

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[1] See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 134.

[2] A few years earlier, the same author published his transcript of the inscription in Bengali characters and was good enough to send a copy of it to me. Cf. also *Journ. As. Soc. Pak.*, Vol. VI, pp. 271 ff. A set of good impressions of the inscription was received by me from Shri Gupta Chaudhury when the present article was going through the press. It has been utilised in revising the transcript printed here.

There are 28 lines of writing on the obverse and 37 on the reverse of the Paśchimbhāg plate, so that the record is written in 65 lines. The *aksharas* on the obverse are bigger in size ($\frac{7}{16}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$) than those on the reverse ($\frac{5}{16}'' \times \frac{3}{16}''$). The **characters,** like those in the other grants of Śrīchandra, belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. when the Gauḍī was emerging out of the Siddhamātṛikā. Of the initial vowels, *ṛi* in line 43 is interesting. The sign for *avagraha* is once used in line 5. The engraving is neatly done and credit for it has been rightly claimed on behalf of the engraver Haradāsa in the concluding stanza (verse 23) as we shall see below. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition consists of both prose and verse. Some personal names indicate Prakrit and Dēśī influence ; *e.g.*, Vihnadatta (Vishṇu-datta) in line 49, Siṅghadatta in line 48, etc. We know that the introductory stanzas in Śrīchandra's charters are not exactly the same in number and composition in the different records, though several verses are common to all of them. Thus, among the 15 stanzas in lines 1-25 of the present record, some well-known stanzas found in most of the other epigraphs are absent, while seven stanzas (verses 5, 7-9, 12-14) of this epigraph are not noticed in any of the hitherto published charters of the king. The **orthographical** peculiarities of the inscription are also noticeable in Śrīchandra's other grants, *e.g.* the reduplication of a consonant in conjunction with *r* in many cases, the change of *anusvāra* to the gutteral nasal before *ś* and to the dental nasal before *s*, the change of final *m* before the consonants of a *varga* to the nasal of the same class, the avoidance of the *visarga* in cases of *sandhi* like *Jinas=sa*, etc. Final *m* has often been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* even before a stop and a vowel.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the benedictory expression *svasti*. Then follow the fifteen introductory stanzas in lines 1-25. It is interesting to note that the other grants of the king have usually about 7 to 9 verses in the introductory part and that all the stanzas do not occur in all the grants as we have already indicated above.

Verse 1, also found at the beginning of the other charters of Śrīchandra, is in adoration of the **Buddhist trinity**—the Jina (*i.e.* Lord Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha. This is no doubt because the Chandras were followers of the Buddhist faith. This verse is followed in some of Śrīchandra's records by another saying that **Pūrṇachandra,** the progenitor of the dynasty, was born in the family of the Chandras of **Rōhitāgiri** and that his name occurred in documents engraved on the pedestals of images as well as on pillars of victory and plates of copper. This shows that the Chandra family hailed from Rōhitāgiri (modern Rōhtāsgaḍh in the Shahabad District, Bihar) and that Pūrṇachandra was a ruling chief of some importance. Instead of this verse, the said Pūrṇa-chandra is introduced in the present epigraph in another stanza (verse 2) which is found in the Kēdārpur plate wherein, however, it is not fully legible. It says that there was a fortunate person named **Pūrṇachandra** whose shameless enemies took shelter under the unique umbrella created by the dust raised by his army.

Verse 3, which is found in the Kēdārpur and Idilpur plates, introduces **Suvarṇachandra,** the son of Pūrṇachandra, and compares him with pure gold even though, unlike gold, he was never tested in fire and weighed on balance. We know that some other grants of Śrīchandra introduce Suvarṇachandra in a different stanza stating that the said prince became a follower of the Buddha because he had been born in the family of the Moon-god who bears on his lap the Buddha born as a hare in a previous birth (*Śaśaka-jātaka*). Verse 4 is also found in several of Śrīchandra's charters and states that Suvarṇachandra was so named by the people because, when he was in his mother's womb, the queen satisfied her longing by seeing the rising moon and, as a result, obtained the son comparable to the moon in beauty.

Verse 5, which is not found in the published records of Śrīchandra, introduces king **Trailōkya-chandra** (c. 905-25 A.D.), whose great fame spread over the three worlds, as the son of Suvarṇa-

chandra. Its transcript and translation published by Gupta Chaudhury are not free from errors. Trailōkyachandra is here compared once to the moon whose rise caused the oozing away of the moonstone (*indudṛishada*) that were the eyes of [the heroes] captured by him [in battles] or of the [overjoyed] minstrels. He is also said to have been afraid of scandal and to have resembled the evening twilight spreading to the lotus-ponds that were the congregations [of his rivals].[1] Trailōkya was like the rising clouds to the group of thirsty *Chātaka* birds (*i.e.* was liberal to the supplicants). He was also the watcher of the activities of his subjects, and this reminds us of Dilīpa's description in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (I. 17) as the restrainer of his subjects from moving away from the right track.

The next stanza (verse 6) is found in some of Śrīchandra's published charters and states that the said king (Trailōkyachandra), being desirous of conquering the earth bounded by the four oceans but having no greed for wealth, destroyed his enemies by his sword (*i.e.* did not release them on receipt of money).

Verse 7 is a new stanza found for the first time in the present record and Gupta Chaudhury has failed to read and interpret it correctly. It may be interpreted as follows: After having conquered **Samataṭa,** Trailōkyachandra's soldiers exclaimed, "That prosperous **Dēvaparvata** lying on the **Kshīrōdā** is this city where the visitor has the feeling of astonishment at the wonderful reports about the **Kambōjas,**" and the **Lālambī** forest in the area being searched by hundreds of boatmen, they heard, in conformity with tradition (*itiha*), the tales about superbly efficacious medicinal herbs. The stanza offers much valuable information. In the first place, it speaks of the conquest of the **Samataṭa country,** i.e. the present Tippera-Noakhali region in South-East Bengal within East Pakistan, by Trailōkyachandra. A verse in the Rāmpāl plate states how Trailōkya was the mainstay (*ādhāra*) of the royal fortunes of the king of **Harikēla** (which originally indicated the Sylhet region) and how he became the king of Chandradvīpa (in the present Buckergunge District). Trailōkyachandra's conquest of Samatata seems now to have paved the way for Śrīchandra's rule in Vaṅga and the Sylhet region (Harikēla), though, as we shall see below, Trailōkyachandra had some success against Vaṅga as well. Secondly, the city of Dēvaparvata on the bank of the Kshīrōdā river is indirectly mentioned as the chief city of Samataṭa. We know from the Kailan plate[2] of Śrīdhāraṇarāta (later part of the seventh century A.D.) and the Tippera plate[3] of Bhavadēva (probably the latter half of the ninth century A.D.) that the city of Dēvaparvata on the Kshīrōdā was the capital of the Rāta and Dēva familes of Samataṭa. The reference to hundreds of boatmen in the verse under discussion reminds us of the Kailan inscription describing the Kshīrōdā river as *naubhir=aparimitābhir=uparachita-kūlā*. As has been said elsewhere, "The Kshīrōdā river is the modern Khīrā or Khīrnai, a dried up river course still traceable as branching off from the Gōmatī just west of the town of Comilla. It flows by the eastern side of the Mainämatī hills and skirts the southern end of the hills near the Chaṇḍīmuḍā peak where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hills. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Mainämatī hills, where the ancient hill fort of Dēvaparvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Ḍākātiā river."[4] Thirdly, the city of Dēvaparvata seems to have suffered from an invasion of the Kambōjas shortly before the advent of the Chandra army. The name Kambōja appears to be the Sanskritised form of the name of the Kōch people of North Bengal and a few kings of this clan are known from their inscriptions to have been ruling in the northern

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[1] [The expression may be read as *kamalinī-suprāta-*° and understood as (*he was like*) the morning twilight to the lotus-plants that were the assemblies (*of the learned*)—Ed.]
[2] *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.
[3] *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 83 ff.
[4] *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 226-26.

and south-western regions of Bengal in the tenth century A.D.[1] They must have carved out these principalities at the expense of the Pāla emperors. The name of modern Cochbihar (*Kōcha-vihāra*) associates it with the same Kōch tribe of Tibeto-Burman origin.[2] Fourthly, Lālambī-vana, which is no doubt the modern Lālmāi hills near Comilla, seems to have been famous for its medicinal herbs. Its name and mention in the present context show that the suggestion regarding Rōhitāgiri, the original home of the Chandras, being the Sanskritised form of the name Lāl-māi (Lāl-māṭi) is wrong, so that the identification of Rōhitāgiri with modern Rōhtāsagaḍh in the Shahabad District of Bihar is more satisfactory.[3]

The next stanza (verse 8) is also interesting and is not found in any of Śrīchandra's other grants. There are likewise errors in Gupta Chaudhury's reading and translation of the verse. It says that the forces of the victorious **Trailōkyachandra** enjoyed, out of curiosity, the famous curds of the **Vaṅga** country at the village of **Kṛishṇaśikharin** and its hamlets, next drank the waters of the river **Suruṅgā** and the allied streams in the forests girdling **Mt. Vindhya** and finally reached **Mt. Malaya** where their own tumult became mixed up with the dull sound of the streams of the waters of the **Kāvērī** tumbling over the rocks on the peaks. This is the conventional account of Trailōkyachandra's *digvijaya* in the secondary *chakravarti-kshētra* of South India which seems to be described here as bounded by the Vaṅga country, the Vindhya and Malaya mountain ranges and the river Kāvērī.[4] Normally such a claim would have little historical basis and would merely indicate the fact that Trailōkyachandra claimed to be an independent monarch. But the reference to a particular locality in Vaṅga and a particular river in the Vindhyas seems to lend a historical colouring to the claim. The poet associates the Kāvērī with the Malaya (the Travancore hills and the southern fringe of the Western Ghāṭs) as Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti do.[5] The village of Kṛishṇaśikharin in the Vaṅga country and the Suruṅgā-nadī flowing through the Vindhyan region do not appear to be known from any other source. It seems that the curds of Vaṅga, in which the division (*bhāga*) of Vikramapura (in the Dacca District) was situated according to medieval records,[6] had a name in Chandradvīpa (in the Buckergunge District) which was Trailōkyachandra's original dominion.

Verse 9 introduces Trailōkya's beloved queen named **Kāñchikā**. The stanza, with some variations, occurs in several other records of Śrīchandra, though the queen's name in all those cases is Kāñchanā and not Kāñchikā. The queen was probably known by both the names, Kāñchanā being apparently more popular than Kāñchikā. Verse 10, found also in several other records, introduces Śrīchandra as the son of Trailōkyachandra, comparable to Indra, from the said queen, and states that the prince was born on the auspicious configuration of planets called *Rāja-yōga*. Verse 11 is likewise found in some other grants of Śrīchandra and says that **Śrī-chandra** brought the earth under his sole umbrella and put all his enemies in the prison-houses.

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[1] See the Bāṅgaḍh pillar inscription of Kuñjaraghaṭāvarsha, the lord of Gauḍa, belonging to the Kambōja race (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1726) and the Irda (Balasore District, Orissa) plate of the Buddhist *P. M. P.* Nayapāla who belonged to the Kambōja family, was the younger brother of the chief Nārāyaṇapāla and the successor of *M.P.P.* Rājyapāla, was born of the queen Bhāgyadēvī and granted land in the Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala in the Vardhamāna-bhukti (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.).

[2] The Koch people now call themselves Rājavaṁśī. See G. C. Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dict.*, 1885, p. 167. Another Mongoloid people called Mēch ruled Assam from the middle of the 7th to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Their tribal name was Sanskritised as Mlēchchha. The contributions of these Mongoloids to East Indian culture was augmented by the Ahom conquest of Assam in the thirteenth century.

[3] Cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 194.

[4] Cf. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 13-15.

[5] See *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 45-46 ; *Mahāvīracharita*, V. 3. The Kāvērī flows through Coorg, South Mysore and the Coimbatore, Salem, Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts.

[6] Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 125, 137, 146.

The following three stanzas (verses 12-14) are not found in any of the other charters of Śrīchandra and their text and translation published by Gupta Chaudhury are erroneous as usual. Verse 12 says that Śrīchandra's forces, in the course of their conquest of the **Kāmarūpa** country (the eastern parts of Assam) entered the woodlands near the **Lōhitya** (*i.e.* the Brahmaputra) which were covered by the clouds that were the flying she-pigeons, had banana groves that were tawny owing to the ripening of the fruits or leaves and in which monkeys were roaming, had many plains on which drowsy yaks were ruminating leisurely, and were dark owing to the black aloe trees. The importance of the verse lies in the fact that it refers to an invasion of Kāmarūpa by Śrīchandra, which is not mentioned in any of his published records, even though the Paśchimbhāg plate seems to be one of his earliest grants. But, as we shall see below, the copper-plate grants of his successors refer to his success against the king of Prāgjyōtisha, *i.e.* a ruler of the Mlēchchha (Mēch) or Sālastambha dynasty of Assam.

Verse 13 states that Śrīchandra's soldiers, in their eagerness to conquer **Uttarāpatha,** recited the following : "This is that **Chitraśilā** river covered with beautiful storax plants and this is the river **Pushpabhadrā** marked by valleys full of the rustling sound of the palmyra leaves", as if they were learned Brāhmaṇas reciting, for a long time, hymns at the proper hours at the sight of the local deities of the **Himagiri** (Himalayas). Of the two rivers, the Chitraśilā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the Pushpabhadrā in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[1] the latter now being a small stream to the north of the Brahmaputra near Gauhati.[2] It is well known that Uttarāpatha was the name of the northern division of India, which included the Himalayan region. The author of the inscription apparently locates the Kāmarūpa country (also called Prāgjyōtisha) in Uttarāpatha. This is supported by the *Mahābhārata* and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, while the Purāṇas and later works like Rājaśēkhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* locate Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyōtisha in the eastern division.[3] Like verse 12, this stanza also refers to Śrīchandra's invasion of Assam.

Verse 14 states how king Śrīchandra propitiated the god of war by his own deeds of valour and brushed off the *patrāṅguli* (lines of painting drawn with a finger dipped in coloured sandal paste, etc.) decoration on the breasts of the **Yavana** women, made the cheeks and abdomen of the **Hūṇa** women covered by the wounds of scarification carried out in grief, and put an end to the fickleness in the glances of **Utkala** women intoxicated by toddy. Here we have an indirect reference to Śrīchandra's victory over the Yavanas (some foreign people, probably meaning here the Arab Muhammadans occupying the lower Indus valley), Hūṇas (settled in the western and north-western regions of India) and Utkalas (people of Orissa), though the language appears to indicate the poet's skill in versification rather than his love for historical truth. The womenfolk of the Yavana and Utkala countries are described as fond respectively of painting their breasts and of drinking toddy. It may be mentioned here that painting the breasts, etc., was quite popular with Indian women,[4] though we are not sure whether the custom was also prevalent among foreigners. More interesting is the custom of the Hūṇa widows scarifying their cheeks and the lower front of their body especially because Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 68) speaks of the same custom of *kapōla-pāṭana* (scarification of the cheeks) as popular with the Hūṇa widows.[5] The purpose of the Hūṇa custom, known to have been popular with the Turkish peoples, was probably to render the widows ugly so that nobody may be eager to woo them.

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[1] See Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *chitra* (*Mahābhārata*, VI. 9.30) and *pushpa*.

[2] Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 168.

[3] See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, pp. 65, 69, 103.

[4] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII. 55. It was also called *patra, patrāvalī, patrabhaṅga, patrabhaṅgī, patralēkhā, patravallarī*, etc.

[5] See *Śatābdakaumudī* (Nagpur Museum Centenary Volume), 1964, p. 131.

Verse 15, with which the introductory part of the inscription ends, is found in a few of Śrīchandra's other grants. It says that the multitude of dust arising as a result of the Chandra king's battles reached the heavens and there it was received by the Elephants of the Quarters who have a longing for it, but that it was avoided by the gods who remained at a distance because of their inability to shut their eyes, and also that it lent a false whiteness to the black hair of the heavenly damsels.

The above introductory section is followed by the text of **the grant proper** in prose in lines 25-56. It is a remarkable document of great importance for the reconstruction of the cultural history of Eastern India.

The charter was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at **Vikramapura** (line 25) which lay in Vaṅga and to which the Chandra capital must have been transferred from Chandradvīpa before the 5th regnal year of Śrīchandra. The donor of the grant is then introduced as *Paramasaugata Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Śrīchandradēva** who meditated on (or, was favoured by) the feet of *Paramasaugata Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Trailōkyachandradēva** (lines 25-27). It may be noticed that, in the other grants of Śrīchandra, his father is mentioned only with the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, though he is endowed with the full imperial style in the present epigraph. The donor's address in respect of the grant is then issued to the people associated with (*samupāgata*)[1] the three *vishayas* or districts of **Garalā, Pōgāra** and **Chandrapura** together with the tract called **Avēḍikā** attached to **Sātalavargga,** all within the *maṇḍala* (division) of **Śrīhaṭṭa** (Sylhet) belonging to the *bhukti* or province of **Pauṇḍravardhana** (lines 27-28). It is well known that the territory of Puṇḍravardhana originally comprised the districts of North Bengal and had its headquarters at modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District of East Pakistan, though its jurisdiction later extended, probably due to the expansion of the Pāla empire, over Vaṅga comprising the *bhāga* of Vikramapura in the Dacca region and also over the Khāḍī-vishaya in the present 24-Parganas District.[2] Recently the Mehar plate[3] showed that Samataṭa formed a part of the same Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, and we now learn from the Paśchimbhāg plate that the said *bhukti* also included the Śrīhaṭṭa-maṇḍala.

As in the other records of Śrīchandra, the people addressed by the king are enumerated in lines 28-33 as follows: *Rājñī, Rāṇaka, Rājaputra, Mahāsāndhivigrahika, Mahāsainyapati, Mahāmudrādhikṛita, Mahākshapaṭalika, Pādamūlika, Mahāpratīhāra, Mahātantrādhikṛita, Mahāsarvādhikṛita, Mahābalādhikaraṇika, Mahāvyūhapati, Maṇḍalapati, Kōṭṭapāla, Dauḥsādhasādhanika, Chaurōddharaṇika, Naubala-hasty-aśva-gō-mahish-āj-āvik-ādi-vyāpṛitaka, Gaulmika, Śaulkika, Dāṇḍika, Daṇḍapāśika, Daṇḍanāyaka, Vishayapati*, etc., and others mentioned in the *adhyaksha-prachāra*, but not indicated in the grant, such as officials of the categories of *Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa*, the rural folk and agriculturists headed by the Brāhmaṇas.[4] These were duly honoured, exhorted and ordered in respect of the grant made.

It is then stated that the said three *vishayas* were bounded in the east by the embankment at **Bṛihatkōṭṭa** (literally, 'the big fort'), in the south by the **Maṇi-nadī,** in the west by the canals called **Jujjū** and **Kāshṭhaparṇī** and the river called **Vētraghaṭī** and in the north by the **Kōsiyāra-nadī** (lines 34-35). Of these, the Kōsiyāra is the well-known Kusiyārā river

[1] Cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 161 ff.; above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287 ff.

[2] See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182-91.

[3] Ibid., pp. 182 ff.

[4] For the official designations, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v.; also *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 351 ff.

running through the Sylhet District and the big area, comprising more than three *vishayas* and forming the gift land, was situated to the south of the said river. According to Gupta Chaudhury, this river is mentioned as Kauśikā in the Nidhanpur plates[1] and the Chandrapurī-vishaya known from that record is the same as the Chandrapura-vishaya of the present epigraph. It should be noted, however, that the Nidhanpur plates mention the *agrahāra-kshētra* of Mayūraśālmala in the Chandrapurī-vishaya as bounded by the dried up Kauśikā in the east, south-east and north-west. Of the other names, Gupta Chaudhury identifies the Maṇi-nadī with the present Manu river, the Jujjū (read by him as *Jujnu*) canal with the modern Jujnā-chharā and the Vētraghaṭī with the present Ghuṅghī river, all in the Sylhet District. The Manu river rises in the Tippera hills and runs through the Maulavi Bazar Subdivision. The Jujnā-chharā is a small stream rising from the hills on the western border of Maulavi Bazar and flowing through the Habiganj Subdivision. Gupta Chaudhury says that, in the same region, there are two rivers called Bātari and Ghuṅgī[2] and that the name of the former may be reflected in the first part of the old name Vētraghaṅghī. The correct reading of the name is, however, Vētraghaṭī.

Next it is stated that the area within the said boundaries was transformed into a *brahmapura* (Brāhmaṇa settlement) which was given the name **Śrīchandrapura** no doubt after the king's name (lines 35-36). In the said Śrīchandrapura, the following grants of land were then announced :—

The first block of land measuring 120 *pāṭakas* was granted to **the god Brahman** for his *maṭha* or temple, the existence of which in Sylhet during the 10th century is of considerable importance because the independent worship of the said god was not popular in ancient and medieval India.[3] Moreover, the details of the grant of the 120 *pāṭakas* of land, as given in the charter, show that the *maṭha* was a big religious establishment. Out of the said land, 10 *pāṭakas* (each measuring 10 *drōṇas*) were allotted to a teacher for exposition of the *Chāndra* (i. e. the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa* or the grammar of Chandragōmin) ; 10 *pāṭakas* for the *pāli* (maintenance) and *ghuṭikā* (chalk, probably including other necessities of the type) of 10 students ; 5 *pāṭakas* for the daily offering of food to 5 guest (*apūrva=atithi*) Brāhmaṇas ; 1 *pāṭaka* to the Brāhmaṇa who built (or supervised the building of) the temple ; 1 *pāṭaka* to the accountant or astrologer (*gaṇaka*) ; 2½ *pāṭakas* to the scribe (*kāyastha*); ½ *pāṭaka* to each one of the 4 florists (*mālākāra*), 2 oilmen (*tailika*), 2 potters (*kumbhakāra*), 5 players on the drum called *kāhalā* (*kāhalika*), 2 conch-shell blowers (*śaṅkha-vādaka*), 2 players on the big drum called *ḍhakkā*, 8 players on the *drāgaḍa* (kettle-drum), 22 servants (*karmakara*) and cobblers (*charmakāra*) (i.e. in all 23½ *pāṭakas*) ; 2 *pāṭakas* to the dancer (*naṭa*) ; 2 *pāṭakas* to each of the 2 carpenters (*sūtradhāra*), 2 masons (*sthapati*) and 2 blacksmiths (*karmakāra*) (i.e. in all 12 *pāṭakas*) ; ¾ *pāṭaka* to each of the 8 maid-servants (*chēṭikā*, probably *dēvadāsī*) (i.e. 6 *pāṭakas* in all) ; and 47 *pāṭakas* for repairs (*navakarman*) to be carried in the temple establishment. This accounts for 120 *pāṭakas* (lines 36-42).

It is interesting to note that a Brāhmaṇa, whose name is not mentioned, may have been the founder of the *maṭha* and may have arranged for the creation of the free holding in favour of the temple by depositing the usual fees to the king's treasury.[4] The allotment of a plot of land to him reminds us of a similar provision made in the Kailan plate.[5] The mention of a *pāṭaka* as made of 10 *drōṇas* is interesting since the Gunaighar (Tippera District) plate of 507 A. D. mentions a

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[1] P. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, 26.

[2] See his paper in the *Yugabhērī* (Sylhet) dated 14.8.1964.

[3] *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 365-66.

[4] Cf. *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 114 ff. As suggested above, this Brāhmaṇa may have also been the supervisor of the building of the *maṭha*.

[5] *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 236.

pāṭaka equal to 40 *drōṇa-vāpas* (*drōṇas*).[1] The *pāṭaka* of the present inscription was therefore ¼ of the *pāṭaka* of the Gunaighar plate if of course the *drōṇa* or *drōṇa-vāpa* indicated the same area in both the cases. The *drōṇa-vāpa* seems to have been originally equal to about 5 *bīghās* or a little more than 1¼ acres.[2] If such was the case, the *pāṭaka* of the present epigraph was not less than 15 acres and 120 *pāṭakas* at least about 1800 acres. Another interesting fact to note in this section is the reference to the popularity of the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa*. This reminds us of the tradition according to which its author, the celebrated Buddhist savant Chandragōmin (5th-6th century A. D.), lived in Chandradvīpa, the original Chandra territory, for some years.[3]

The **second block of land** measuring 280 *pāṭakas* was granted in favour of **the gods Vaiśvānara** (Agni), **Yōgēśvara** (aspect of Śiva),[4] **Jaimani** (often called Jaimini in other works) and **Mahākāla** (aspect of Śiva) worshipped in the four *dēśāntarīya* (foreign) *maṭhas* and the four Vaṅgāla *maṭhas*. The installation of the same group of four deities in two adjacent establishments is curious. It seems that all the temples were raised at the time of the creation of the *śāsana*. The reference to the temple of the fire-god Agni-Vaiśvānara is interesting, since there is little evidence of the independent worship of this deity. The reference to Jaimani's temple is, however, still more interesting, because it was hardly known so far that the celebrated founder of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā school of philosophy was deified and worshipped. Of course, the deification is not unnatural since we hear of the existence of a temple at Gaṅgāsāgara at the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī, in which Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy, was under worship.[5] But Kapila's worship at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the sea may be explained by the fact that, according to tradition, he was indirectly responsible for the expansion of the sea.[6] Whether there was any local tradition associating Jaimani with Sylhet cannot, however, be determined. Another interesting point in this section is the reference to a group of four Vaṅgāla-maṭhas which was distinguished from another category of *maṭhas* called *dēśāntarīya* or foreign. We know that Chandradvīpa, of which Śrīchandra's father became king, was also known as Vaṅgāladēśa and that the name Vaṅgāla gradually extended over wide areas of Eastern Bengal with the expansion of the Chandra dominions.[7] It is thus possible that the Vaṅgāla-maṭhas of Sylhet were run by certain priests of Śrīchandra's home territory of Vaṅgāla or Chandradvīpa. It is interesting to remember in this connection that Śrīchandra issued his Madanpur charter in favour of a Brāhmaṇa who was an inhabitant of the king's own country (*ēka-dēśa-bhava*),[8] probably meaning Chandradvīpa. The *dēśāntarīya* temples were probably run by priests who came from outside the Chandra kingdom.

The details of the distribution of the 280 *pāṭakas* given in lines 42-47 speak of the following persons attached to the two groups of four *maṭhas* each referred to above : 10 *pāṭakas* to each of the 8 teachers of the 4 Vēdas, viz. *Ṛik*, *Yajus*, *Sāman* and *Atharvan* (i.e. 80 *pāṭakas* in all) ; 5 *pāṭakas* for each group of 5 students in each of the 8 *maṭhas* (i.e. 40 *pāṭakas*) ; ½ *pāṭaka* to each of the following in each of the eight *maṭhas* — the florist, the barber (*nāpita*), the oilman and the washerman (*rajaka*) and the 8 servants and cobblers (*i.e.* 16 + 32 = 48 *pāṭakas*) ; ¾ *pāṭaka* to each of the 2 maidservants or *dēvadāsīs* in each of the 8 *maṭhas* (i.e. 12 *pāṭakas* in all) ; 10 *pāṭakas*

[1] See *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 416.
[2] Cf. ibid., p. 414.
[3] See *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 296 ff. ; *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. Sircar, p. 130.
[4] Since the absence of Vishṇu among the deities worshipped in the area is not easy to explain, Yōgēśvara here may also have been an aspect of Vishṇu instead of Śiva.
[5] Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 181-82.
[6] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII. 3.
[7] *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 132. Vaṅgāla seems to have been the original territory also of the Pālas.
[8] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 58, text line 35.

for repairs to each one of the 8 *maṭhas* (i.e. 80 *pāṭakas* in all) ; 2 *pāṭakas* to the Mahattara-Brāhmaṇa (probably, chief priest) in each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 4 *pāṭakas* in all) ; 1½ *pāṭakas* to the superintendent (*vārika*) of each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 3 *pāṭakas* in all) ; 2½ *pāṭakas* to the scribe of each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 5 *pāṭakas*) ; 1 *pāṭaka* to the astrologer or accountant of each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 2 *pāṭakas*) ; and 3 *pāṭakas* to the physician (*vaidya*) attached to each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 6 *pāṭakas*). This accounts for 280 *pāṭakas*.

The two groups of 4 *maṭhas* each were big religious and educational establishments, each group receiving 140 *pāṭakas* of land whereas the similar *maṭha* of the god Brahman alone received 120 *pāṭakas*. The existence of such institutions is sometimes referred to in South Indian epigraphs, *e.g.* the Gōlakī-maṭha in the Malkapuram inscription,[1] and we have there even now similar establishments like that of the god Vēṅkaṭēśvara at Tirupati in the Chittur District, Andhra Pradesh. Although there must have been similar institutions in Northern India, they are rarely mentioned in literary and epigraphic records so that the present record is of great importance to the student of East Indian history.

The **third block of land** that was left over after the distribution of the first and second blocks (measuring 120 + 280 = 400 *pāṭakas*) was granted in favour of 6000 Brāhmaṇas headed by the following 37 names — Vāvusadatta, Harsha, Śēkhara, Viśvarūpa, Bhānudatta, Īśāna, Dhanyanāga, Nandayaśas, Chaṅga, Gōvardhana, Siṁhadatta, Kamalanandin, Savitāra, Māṇikya, Kāmuka, Bhīmapāla, Annaṭa, Vatsadhara, Nandaghōsha, Śrīdhara, Rāma, Śivabandhu, Maṅgala, Vēdō, Dhavala, Vishṇudatta, Śāntidāman, Gargaśarman, Mahīndrasōma, Ravikara, Bhānu, Nārāyaṇa, [Jyēshṭha ?]gupta, Śaśidatta, Hari, Jayadatta and Garga. The Brāhmaṇa donees belonged to various *gōtras* and *pravaras* and were the students of different *śākhās* of the four *charaṇas*. The 6000 Brāhmaṇas received 6000 equal shares (lines 47-51). An interesting feature of the names of the 38 Brāhmaṇas quoted above shows that the family names of many of them were stereotyped name-endings and were such as are prevalent now among the non-Brāhmaṇa communities of Bengal, *e.g.* Datta, Nāga, Nandin, Pāla, Dhara, Ghōsha, Dāman, Sōma, Kara and Gupta, the only typical Brāhmaṇa surname being Śarman. It has been suggested that most of these Brāhmaṇas having the present non-Brāhmaṇa cognomens were later merged in the non-Brāhmaṇa communities like the Vaidya and Kāyastha.[2]

In lines 51-56, it is stated that the grant of the three *vishayas* together with Avēḍikā and with the boundaries demarcated as above was made by the king by means of the copper-plate charter in accordance with the principle of *bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāya* with libations of water as a permanent gift lasting as long as the moon, sun and earth would endure in favour of the gods **Brahman, Agni (Vaiśvānara), Yōgēśvara, Jaimani and Mahākāla as well as of 6000 Brāhmaṇas** with the following privileges and conditions—*sa-tala, s-ōddēśa, s-āmra-panasa, sa-guvāka-nālikēra, sa-jala-sthala, sa-gart-ōshara, sa-daś-āparādha, sa-chōr-ōddharaṇa, parihrita-sarva-pīḍa, a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśa, a-kiñchid-grāhya, samasta-rājabhōga-kara-hiraṇya-pratyāya-sahita* (together with all the income enjoyed by the king in the shape of taxes in kind and in cash), *ratna-traya-bhūmi-varjita* (excluding the land in the possession of Buddhist establishments) and also excluding the land measuring 52 *pāṭakas* of 10 *drōṇas* each, which was attached to Indrēśvara's boat-station. It is further said that the grant was made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents in the name of **Lord Buddha** on the occasion of the **Śrāvaṇa-ravi-saṅkrānti** and that the declaration in this respect was made by the king through the *Dūtaka* (executor) who was the *Mahāmudrādhikṛita* Śubhāṅga.[3]

[1] *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 158-62.

[2] Cf. *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 424.

[3] For the offical designations and other technical expressions, see *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v., : also *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 351 ff., 388 ff.

The cultivators and Brāhmaṇas of the countryside (meaning the people living in the *śāsana*) are then advised to be submissive to the donees and to pay them the proper dues. The *bhōga-patis* (landlords such as governors, *jāgīrdārs*, etc.) of the future are also requested to approve of the grant and protect it considering the greatness of the merit accruing to gifts and the fear of going to hell as a result of their abrogation. The date is then quoted as **year 5, Vaiśākha-dina 5** (lines 56-58).

Lines 59-63 contain five of the usual imprecatory stanzas (verses 16-20). Verse 21 says that the **Chandrapura** (correctly, Śrīchandrapura) *śāsana* of king **Śrīchandradēva** was created through the *Dūtaka* Śubhāṅga whose family hailed from a locality called Sālavarēndri. It is difficult to say whether this name has anything to do with Varēndra or Varēndrī, the medieval name of North Bengal. Verse 22 is important because it says that a Vaishṇava Brāhmaṇa named Vināyaka was responsible for settling the 6000 Brāhmaṇas in the Śrīchandrapura-śāsana. This means that Vināyaka paid the requisite fees to the State for making the land allotted to the Brāhmaṇas a rent-free holding. The last stanza (verse 23), which Gupta Chaudhury has misunderstood, states that the artisan Haradāsa was the engraver of the charter and that even the God of Creation (Brahman) has made such beautiful things only on rare occasions. The record ends with the letters *sāndhi-ni* which remind us of similar abbreviated endorsements at the end of other East Indian records, e.g. *ni* (i.e. *śrī-ni*) *anu mahāksha-ni* (*i.e.* examined and approved by the king and thereafter examined and approved by the *Mahākshapaṭalika*) in the Belabo plate.[1] *Sāndhi-ni* means *Sāndhivigrahika-nirīkshita*, 'examined and approved by the Minister of War and Peace'. Gupta Chaudhury reads *anu* after the above endorsement apparently due to confusion. Actually there are no such *aksharas* at the end of the document, though faint traces show that some *aksharas* may have been engraved in this part and then erased.

The historical value of the inscription has already been discussed. Of the many **geographical names** mentioned in it, only some can be identified and their identification has also been indicated above. But the attention of scholars may be drawn to some additional information about Śrīchandra and his father and successors in four hitherto unpublished charters discovered recently in East Pakistan.[2] The said four copper-plate grants are— (1) Dacca plate of Kalyāṇachandra, son of Śrīchandra, issued in year 24; (2-3) 2 Maināmatī plates of Laḍahachandra, son of Kalyāṇachandra; and (4) Maināmatī plate of Gōvindachandra, son of Laḍahachandra. The three kings who issued the charters are introduced in the records as (1) *Paramasaugatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śrīchandradēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Paramēśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭārakō Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān Kalyāṇachandradēvaḥ*; (2) *Paramasaugatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kalyāṇachandradēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Paramēśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān Laḍahachandradēvaḥ*; (3) *Paramasaugatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Laḍahachandradēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭārakō Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān Gōvindachandradēvaḥ*.

The following two stanzas are found in the description of **Trailōkyachandra**, the first in the grant of Kalyāṇachandra and the second in that of Laḍahachandra.

1. *Gauḍānām=apachūḍam=añjalimayō hastēshu drishṭō na chēd=*
   bandhas=tarhi kaṭhōra-śriṅkhalamayaḥ pādēshu saṁrōpitaḥ |
   aṅgais=sārddham=agāt praṇāma-rabhasān=mūrdhnā dharitrīn=na chēd=
   yēn=ābhyunnata-karkaśēna sahasā khaḍgēna nītas=tadā ||
2. *tasy=ābhyunnati-śālinaḥ prachayinō Vaṅgasya muktā-maṇiḥ*
   khyātaḥ kshmā-valay-aika-nāyakatayā Trailōkyachandrō nṛipaḥ |

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[1] See *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 328.

[2] *Proc. IHC*, 1960, Aligarh, Part I, pp. 36-44; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. 67, pp. 1-7. *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 661 ff. Three of the inscriptions are said to have been recently published in Pakistan.

akshudraḥ pariśuddhimān=nṛipa-śata-trāsaḥ suvṛittō guṇa-
grāhyaḥ puṇyatamō babhūva jagataḥ prītyai cha bhūtyai cha yaḥ ||

The first of these two stanzas speaks of Trailōkyachandra's success against the **Gauḍas** (no doubt meaning the Pāla emperor) while the second describes him as the jewel of the **Vaṅga** country. About Trailōkyachandra's time (c. 905-25 A. D.), the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A. D.) conquered wide areas at least of South Bihar and North Bengal from the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 855-910 A. D.) and rendered the latter's position precarious. It is possible that Trailōkyachandra sided with Mahēndrapāla against Nārāyaṇapāla and succeeded in annexing parts of Vaṅga to his original territory of Chandradvīpa or Vaṅgāla in the Buckergunge region. As we have seen above, the Paśchimbhāg plate speaks of his conquest of Samataṭa.

Likewise king **Śrīchandra** is described in the following two stanzas, the first occurring in the record of Kalyāṇachandra and the second in the inscriptions of Laḍahachandra.

1. *Pṛithvīpāla-bhaya-pramārjana-vidhāv=ārdraḥ kaṭhōra-kṛaṇaḥ*
   Gōvarṇṇ-ōnmathanē mahōtsava-gurur=Gōpāla-saṁrōpaṇē |
   līlā-nirjita-ruddha-Pāla-mahishī-pratyarpaṇē sa-trapō
   yasy=ānēka-ras-āspadaṁ sukṛitinō viśv-āvalambō bhujaḥ ||
2. *Prāgjyōtish-ēśvara-vadhū-jana-lōchanānāṁ*
   bāshpa-vyaya-vratam=akhaṇḍitam=ātatāna |
   Gauḍ-āvarōdha-vanit-ādhara-pallavāni
   chakrē cha yō vigalita-smita-kuḍmalāni ||

The second of these two verses speaks vaguely of Śrīchandra's success against **Prāgjyōtisha** (*i.e.* Kāmarūpa) and Gauḍa, the first of the two achievements being known also from the Paśchimbhāg plate. His relations with the **Gauḍas** (*i.e.* the Pālas) are also referred to in the first of the two stanzas quoted above. It is stated that Śrīchandra (c. 925-75 A.D.) was soft in removing the fears of other kings (or of a ruler named Pṛithvīpāla) and harsh in destroying **Gōvarṇa,** initiated rejoicing by installing **Gōpāla** on the throne and exhibited bashfulness in the matter of returning the **queen of the Pāla king** to her husband whom he had easily defeated and captured. Whether Gōvarṇa is the name of a person or a locality or fort cannot be determined. But Gōpāla, whom the Chandra king claims to have installed on the throne is no doubt Gōpāla II (c. 940-60 A.D.) who was the grandson of Nārāyaṇapāla. It may be that there was a struggle for the Pāla throne between Gōpāla II and another claimant and the Chandra king supported the former. In such a case, it may be the rival of Gōpāla II who is stated to have been captured by Śrīchandra in the third foot of the verse, even though his name does not appear in the Pāla records so far discovered. If, however, Gōpāla was a friend of Śrīchandra about the time of his accession, the relationship between the two soon became hostile as is indicated by the discovery of an image inscription of the first regnal year of Gōpāla II from Mandhuk in the Tippera District (ancient Samataṭa) considered along with the issue of Śrīchandra's charters from Vikramapura in the Dacca District and his father's claim to have occupied Vaṅga and conquered Samataṭa. Or does it mean that the Chandras occasionally acknowledged nominal suzerainty of the Pālas ?[1]

A stanza describing **Kalyāṇachandra** in the grants of Laḍahachandra, and another describing the same king in the grant of Gōvindachandra run as follows :

1. *Mlēchchhīnāṁ nayanēshu yēna janitaḥ sthūl-āśru-kōśa-vyayō*
   Gauḍīnāṁ smita-chandrikā-virahinaḥ sṛishṭāś=cha vaktr-ēndavaḥ |

[1] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 55 ff. The dates of the Bāghāurā and Nārāyaṇpur (Tippera District) image inscriptions, viz. years 3 and 4 of Mahīpāla (*i.e.* the Pāla king Mahīpāla I, c. 990-1040 A.D.) have also to be studied in the context of the Chandra occupation of Samataṭa.

ātastāra nijair=yaśōbhir=amalair=ashṭāv=anashṭ-ōdayair=
yaś=ch=aitāḥ śaśabhṛit-karair=iva ghana-tyāga-prakāśair=diśaḥ ||

2. *yēn=āsau dviguṇīkṛitaḥ pati-vadhād=udvējitānāṁ ghanair=*
Mlēchchhīnāṁ nayan-āmbubhir=vigalitair=Lauhitya-nāmā nadaḥ |
yēn=ājau gaja-vāji-patti-bahulāṁ sēnāṁ gṛihītvā balād=
Gauḍānām=adhipaḥ kṛitaś=cha suchiraṁ lajj-āvanamr-ānanaḥ ||

In both the stanzas, king Kalyāṇachandra is stated to have had some success against the **Gauḍas** or Pālas and the **Mlēchchhas** or kings of the Mlēchchha (*i.e.* Mēch) ruling family of Assam founded by Sālastambha about the middle of the 7th century.[1] It is however difficult to say whether these achievements belonged to Kalyāṇachandra's own reign or to his father's.

The following two stanzas describe king **Laḍahachandra** (c. 1000-20 A.D.) who was born of a merchant's daughter, was devoted to both the Buddha and the god Vishṇu and installed a deity called Laḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka. The religious policy of Laḍahachandra shows how the Buddhists of Eastern India were gradually merging themselves in the Hindu community during the early medieval period.[2] The conception of the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu seems to have been accepted by the Buddhist laymen in this age.

1. *yō=ntar-magnaś=cha pāraṁ param=upagamitaś=ch=āśu vidyā-nadīnāṁ*
dōshṇā yaḥ khyāta-vīryō jagad-avana-mahānāṭikā-nāyakēna |
kshauṇībhṛin-mauli-mālā-parimala-surabhībhūta-pād-ābja-rēṇur=
yaś=ch=ānany-ātapatrām=akṛita vasumatīm=aprayāsād=ahōbhiḥ ||

2. *Vārāṇasyām=ayāsīt saha Girisutayā Śambhun=ādhyāsitāyām=*
asnāsīt=tatra Gāṅgē payasi suvimalē svān=atārpīt=pitṝīṁś=cha |
pāṇau pāṇau dvijānām=atha kanakam=adāt=tasya kō vētti saṁkhyāṁ
saṁkhyāvān=ēka ēva tribhuvana-tilakaḥ kshmā-patir=dhik tad-anyān ||

The first of these two verses speaks of Laḍahachandra as a learned man. There may be some truth in this statement, since a few of his poems have found a place in the Sanskrit anthologies.[3] The second verse states that Laḍahachandra visited the Śaiva *tīrtha* of **Vārāṇasī** (in U. P.) on pilgrimage and took a bath there in the holy waters of the **Gaṅgā** and also offered *tarpaṇa* (oblations of water) to his dead ancestors and much gold to the Brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to remember that the Chandra king, who was a Buddhist-Vaishṇava theoretically, refers to the Vārāṇasī *tīrtha* visited by him as the abode of **Śiva and Pārvatī** although the place was also sacred to the Buddhists because the Buddha turned there the Wheel of Law (*Dharmachakra-pravartana*). Laḍahachandra being a contemporary of the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (c. 990-1040 A.D.), it is difficult to understand how he could have travelled, apparently through the Pāla kingdom, without the permission of Mahīpāla I. It therefore seems that, in spite of their claim to independent and imperial status, the Chandras were often no better than subordinate allies of the Pālas. Laḍahachandra visited Vārāṇasī probably while fighting on Mahīpāla's side against Kalachuri Gāṅgēya for the occupation of Eastern U. P. between 1019 A.D. (the date of the manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* copied in Tīrabhukti or North Bihar during the occupation of Gāṅgēya) and 1026 A.D. (the date of the Sarnath inscription of the time of Mahīpāla I).[4]

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[1] Mēch is another name of the Bodo tribe living on the Bhutan frontier. See Whitworth, *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, pp. 48, 202.

[2] See *Bhar. Vid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 55 ff.

[3] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 339, note 7.

[4] Cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1951, p. 27.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2, 9, 16-17, 19, 23 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 3-4, 6, 10-11 *Upajāti* ; verses 5, 7-8, 12-15 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 18 *Śālinī* ; verse 20 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 21-22 *Āryā*.]

Obverse

1 Siddham[2] svasti | Vandyō **Jinas**=sa bhagavān karuṇ-aika-pātran=**Dharmmō**=py=asau vi-

2 jayatē jagad-ēka-dīpaḥ | yat-sēvayā sakala ēva mahānubhāvas=sansāra-[3]

3 pāram=upagachchhati Bhikshu-**saṅghaḥ** || [1*] **Pūrṇṇachandra** iti śrīmān=āsīn=nāsīrajaṁ rajaḥ | yasy=āpur=arayō=pūrvvam=ā-

4 tapatram=apatrapāḥ || [2*] N=āgnau viśuddhō na tul-ādhirūḍhaḥ kintu prakṛity=aiva yutō garimṇā | tath=āpi kalyāṇa-su-

5 varṇṇa-kalpas=**Suvarṇṇachandras**=sukṛitī tatō=bhūt || [3*] Darśē=’sya mātā kila dōhadēna didṛikshamāṇ=ōditam=indu-

6 [v]imvaṁ[4] | suvarṇṇa-chandrēṇa hi tōshit=ēti Suvarṇṇachandraṁ yam=udāharanti || [4*] Tasmād=vandi-vilōchan-ēndudṛishadān=ni-

7 syandi-chandr-ōdayaḥ |[5] kaulīnāt-sa-bhayas=sabhākamalinīsu prāta[6]-sandhy-ātapaḥ | tṛishṇak-chātaka-maṇḍalī-nava[gha]nas-sa-

8 [m]ya[k]-prajā[7]-yāmikaḥ |[5] trailōkya-prathit-ōru-kīrttir=ajani **Trailōkyachandrō** nṛipaḥ || [5*] Chatuḥ-payōrāśi-samāpta-pṛi-

9 thvī-jay-ābhilāshō vishayēshv=aluvdhaḥ(bdhaḥ) | yuddhēshu nistṛiṅśa[8]-latā-jalēna yō vairi-vahniṁ śamayāñchakāra || [6*] **Kshīrōdām=a-**

10 **nu**[9] **Dēvaparvvata** iti śrīmat=tad=ētat=puraṁ yatr=āgantu-janasya vismaya-rasaḥ **Kamvō(mbō)ja**-vārtt-ādbhutaiḥ | **Lālamvī(mbī)**-vanam=atra nāvi-

11 ka[10]-śatair=anvishṭa-siddh-aushadhi-vyāhārā iti ha śrutās=**Samataṭan**=nirjjitya yat-sainikaiḥ || [7*] Bhuktvā [**Va**]**ṅga**[11]-dadhīni **Kṛishṇaśikha-**

12 **ri-grāmēshu** kautūhalāt(lād) **Vindhyasy**=āpy=adhi-mēkhalā-vana-talaṁ pītvā **S[u]ruṅgā-nadīḥ** | jētur=yasya va(ba)lair=vyagā-

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1 Prepared with the help of estampages supplied by Gupta Chaudhury. All the errors in the published transcripts are not noticed here.

2 Expressed by symbol.

3 Read *saṁsāra*.

4 Read *bimbam*.

5 The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

6 Gupta Chaudhury reads *prāta[ḥ*]-sandhy-ātapaḥ* which is metrically defective. [See p. 191, note 1 above. —Ed.].

7 Gupta Chaudhury reads °*ghanas=sa chamū* which is metrically wrong. Read *yāmikas=trai*°.

8 Read *nistriṁśa*.

9 Gupta Chaudhury reads first *Kshīrōdāmavudēvaparvvata* (which is meaningless) and then makes it *Kshīrōdāmvu* (which violates the metrical requirement) and speaks of "the venerable mountain (*i.e.* the Mandara mountain) in the waters of the Kshīrōda (sea)". Probably he has no knowledge of the Kailan plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta and the Tippera plate of Bhavadēva, in both of which the city of Dēvaparvata on the river Kshīrōdā is mentioned as the chief city of the Samataṭa king.

10 Gupta Chaudhury reads *vātika* and speaks of 'persons suffering from the morbid affection of the nervous system'. For *n* and *v* in *nāvika*, see *dōhadēna* in line 5 and *nivēśit*° in line 16.

11 Gupta Chaudhury reads *chaṅga* and also fails to notice the reference to the *Krishnaśikhari-grāma* and *Surunga-nadī*. The engraver may have originally incised *cha* for *va* and later slightly retouched the *akshara*.

13 hi **Malayaḥ** śriṅg-ōpala-praskhalat-**Kāvai(vē)rī**-jalavēṇi-jarjjara-rava-vyāmiśra-kōlāhalaiḥ || [8*] Indrāṇ=īva Mahē-

14 ndrasya Bhavān=īva Bhavasya yā | tasya **śrī-Kāñchikā**[1] nāma va(ba)bhūva mahishī priyā || [9*] Sa rāja-yōgēna śubhē muhūrttē

15 mauhūrttikais=sūchita-rāja-chihnaṁ(hnam) | avāpa tasyāṁ tanayan=nayajñaḥ Śrīchandram=ind-ūpamam=Indra-tējāḥ || [10*] **Ēk-ātapa-**

16 tr-ābharaṇām=bhuvaṁ yō vidhāya vaidhēya-jan-āvidhēyaḥ | chakāra kārāsu nivēsit-ārir=yaśas-sugandhīnī diśām=mu-

17 khāni || [11*] Yat-sainyaiḥ kila **Kāmarūpa**-vijayē rōhatkapōtī-ghanā nirvvishṭāḥ bhalapāka[2]-piṅga-kadalī-kuñja-

18 bhramad-vānarāḥ | rōmanth-ālasa-va(ba)ddhanidra-chamarī-saṁsēvita-prāntarā **Lōhityasya** vanasthalī-parisarāḥ kāl-āgu-

19 ru-śyāmalāḥ || [12*] S=aishā **Chitraśilā** manōrama-śilā-pushpa-pratān-āchitā tālī-sachchha-ṁ(chchha)da- marmmaraiḥ parisaraiḥ

20 sā **Pushpabhadrā** nadī | ity=utkaṇṭhulam[3]=**Uttarāpatha**-jayē yat-sainika-śrōtriyair=adhyāyē paṭhitāś=chiraṁ **Himagirau**

21 dṛishṭā(shṭvā) sthalī-dēvatāḥ || [13*] Santōshaṁ raṇadēvatāñ=gamayatā vīry-āvadānair=nnijair=unmṛishṭaṁ **Yama(va)nī**-payōdhara-taṭē-patr-ā-

22 ṅgulī-maṇḍanaṁ(nam) | śōka-prachchhana[4]-jarjjaraṁ virachitaṁ **Hūṇī**-kapōl-ōdaraṁ yēn=ōnmūlitam=**Utkalī**-nayanayōs=tālī-surā-

23 ghūrṇṇitaṁ(tam) || [14*] Spṛishṭaḥ pārthiva-pānsu[5]-dōhadarasa-ślāghā-ghanaṁ dig-gajair=nnētrāṇām=animēshataḥ parihṛitō dūrēṇa vṛi-

24 ndārakaiḥ | kēśēshv=apsarasām=apūrvva-palita-bhrāntin[6]=samārōpayan santānō rajasāṁ raṇēshu jayinō yasya dyumārgga-

25 n=gataḥ || [15*] sa khalu śrī-**Vikramapura**-samāvāsita-śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt=paramasau gata- paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-

26 mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Trailōkyachandradēva**-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramasaugataḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō mahā-

27 rājādhirājaḥ śrīmān **Śrīchandradēvaḥ** kuśalī | śrī-**Pauṇḍravardhana**-bhukty-antaḥ-pāti-**Śrīhaṭṭa-maṇḍala-Sātalavargga-**

28 samvaddha[7]-**Avēḍikā**-samēta-**Garalā-vishaya-Pōgāra-vishaya-Chandrapura-vishayēshu** | samupāgat-āśēsha-rājñī |[8] rā-

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[1] The name is given as *Śrī-Kāñchanā* in the other records.

[2] Read *phalapāka* (or *dalapāka*). Gupta Chaudhury finds here reference to "monkeys roaming in *bhalapās* (i.e. marking-nut trees), *Kapiṅga* and plantain groves".

[3] Better read *utkaṇṭhitam*. Gupta Chaudhury fails to notice the reference to the Chitraśilā river in the stanza and interprets Uttarāpatha as the 'northern region'.

[4] Gupta Chaudhury reads *prachchhanna* which does not suit the metre. He also misses what the poet rays about the Hūṇa custom.

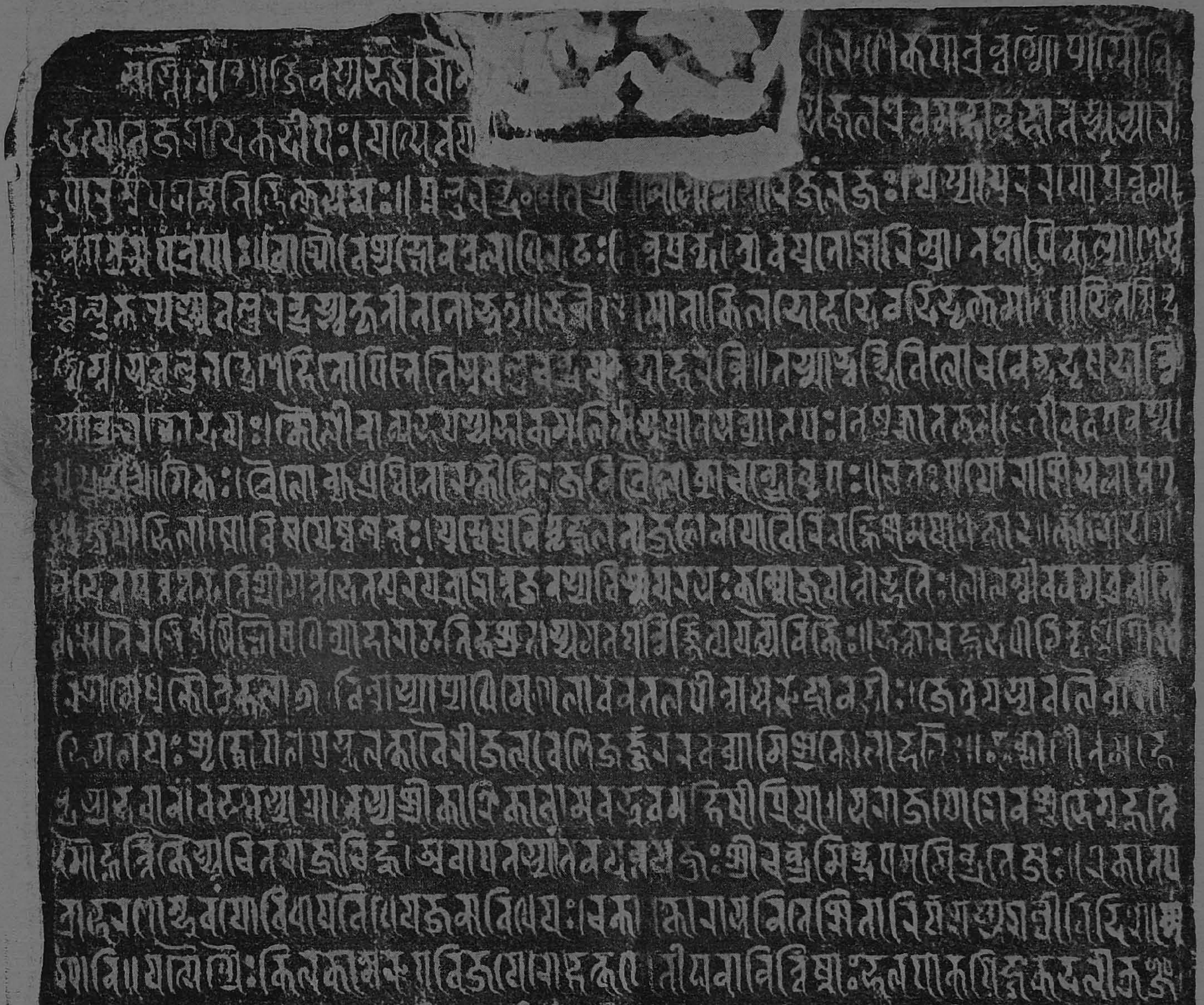
[5] Read *pāṁśu*. Elsewhere we have *ślāghā-ghanair=dig-gajaiḥ*.

[6] Read *bhrāntim*.

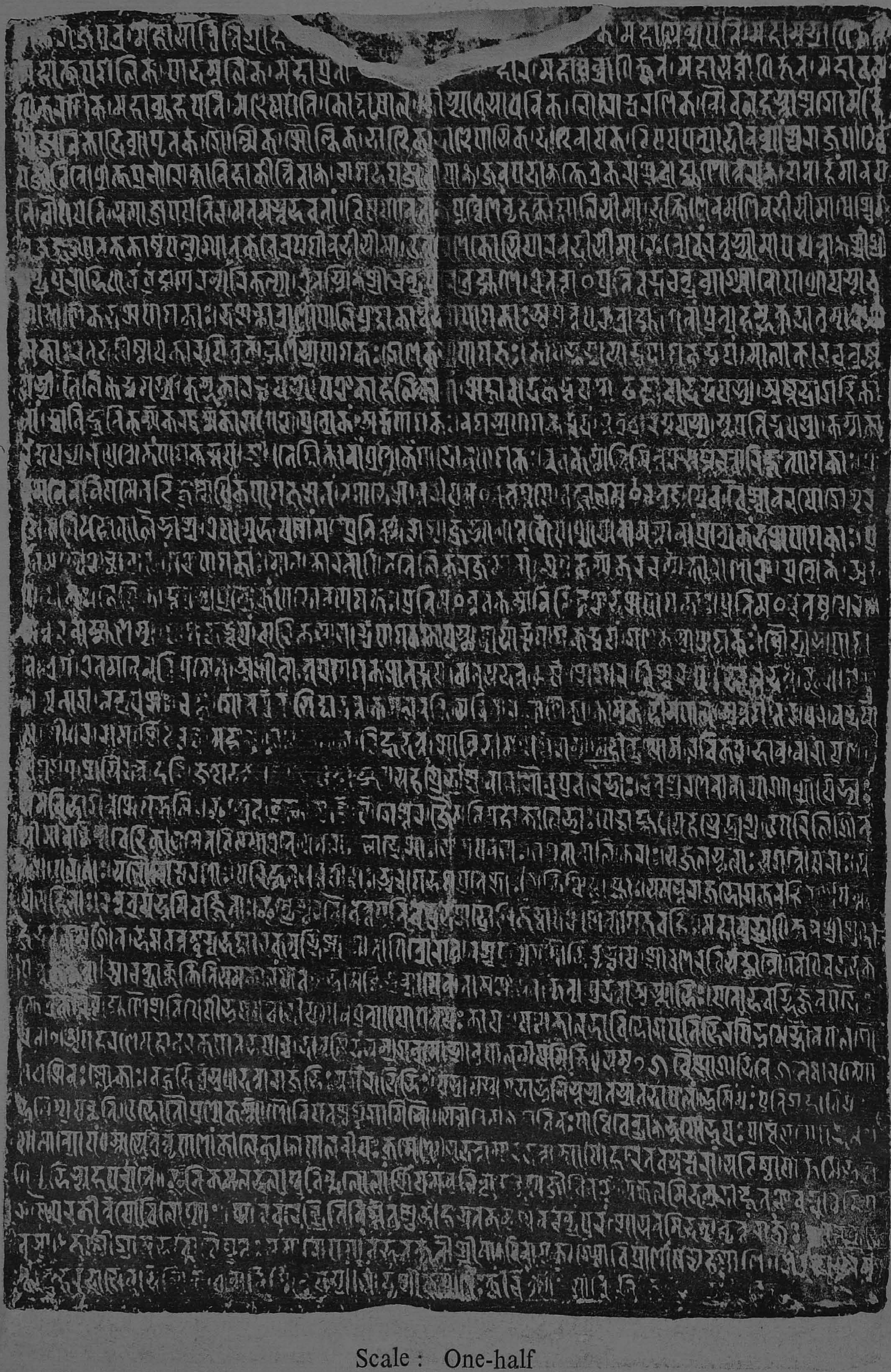
[7] Read *sambaddh-Ā°*. Gupta Chaudhury reads *Adhavērikā* here and *Veḍhika* in line 52. He also reads *Sātalavargaj* for *Sātalavargga*.

[8] Here and in the following lines, the *daṇḍa* has been used in most cases like a hyphen and sometimes like a comma.

Obverse



Reverse



Scale : One-half

Reverse

29 ṇaka | rājaputra | mahāsāndhivigrahika | mahāsainyapati | mahāmudrādhikṛita |

30 mahākshapaṭalika | pādamūlika | mahāpratīhāra | mahātantrādhikṛita | mahāsarvvādhikṛita | mahāva(ba)lā-

31 dhikaraṇika | mahāvyūhapati | maṇḍalapati | kōṭṭapāla | daussādha-sādhanika | chaurō-ddharaṇika | nauva(ba)la-hasty-aśva-gō-mahi-

32 sh-āj-āvik-ādi-vyāpṛitaka | gaulmika | śaulkika | dāṇḍika | da[1]ṇḍapāsi(śi)ka | dāṇḍanāyaka | vishayapaty-ādīn=anyāṁś=cha rāja-pād-ō-

33 pajīvinō=dhyakshaprachār-ōktān=ih=ākīrttitān | chāṭa-bhaṭa-jātīyān | janapadān kshētra-karāṁś=cha Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān | yathārhaṁ mānaya-

34 ti | vō(bō)dhayati | samājñāpayati cha | matam=astu bhavatāṁ(tām) | vishayān=ētān | pūrvvēṇa Vṛi(Bṛi)hatkōṭṭāli[ḥ*] sīmā | dakshiṇēna Maṇi-nadī sīmā | paśchimē-

35 na Jujjū-khātaka[ṁ*] Kāshṭhaparṇṇī-khātaka[ṁ*] Vētraghaṭī-nadī [cha*] sīmā | uttarēṇa Kōsiyāra-nadī sīmā | ity=ēvaṁ chatuṣ-sīmā-paryantān śrī-**Śrī-**

36 **chandrapur-ābhidhānaṁvra(m=bra)hmapuram=parikalpya** | ētasmin **Śrīchand-rapurē** | **Vra(Bra)hmaṇē** | ētan-maṭha-prativa(ba)ddha-Cha(Chā)ndra-vyākhyān-ōpādh-yāyasya da-

37 śa-drōṇika-daśa-pāṭakāḥ | daśa-chchhātrāṇāṁ pāli-ghuṭṭak-ārthaṁ[2] daśa-pāṭakāḥ | apūrvva-pañcha-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇānāṁ pratyaham=bhaktan=dātum=pañcha-pā-

38 ṭakāḥ | ētad-adhishṭhāya(na)-kārayiturvrā(r=Brā)hmaṇasya pāṭakaḥ | gaṇakasya pāṭakaḥ | kāyasthasya s-ārddha-pāṭaka-dvayaṁ(yam) | mālākāra-chatushṭa-

39 yasya | tailika-dvayasya | kumbhakāra-dvayasya | pañcha-kāhalikānāṁ(nām) | śaṅkha-vādaka-dvayasya | ḍhakkā-vādaka-dvayasya | ashṭa-drāgaḍikā-

40 nāṁ(nām) | dvāviṁśati[3]-karmmakara-charmmakārāṇāñ=cha | pratyēkaṁ(kam) arddha-pāṭakaḥ | naṭasya pāṭaka-dvayaṁ(yam) | sūtradhāra-dvayasya | sthapati-dvayasya | karmmakā-

41 ra-dvayasya cha | pratyēkaṁ pāṭaka-dvayaṁ(yam) | ashṭa-vēṭṭikānāṁ[4] pratyēkaṁ pād-ōna-pāṭakaḥ | navakarmma-nimittañ=cha sapta-chatvāriṁśat[5]-pāṭakāḥ | ē-

42 vam=anēna niyamēna viṁśa[6]ty-adhika[ṁ] pāṭaka-śataṁ(tam) | tathā **dēś-āntarīya-maṭha-chatushṭayē** | **Vaṅgāla-maṭha-chatushṭayē cha** | **Vaiśvānara-Yōgēśvara-**

43 **Jaimani-Mahākālēbhyaś**-cha || ēshām=ubhayēshāṁ maṭha-prativa(ba)ddha[7]-ṛig-yajus-sām-ātharvv-ōpādhyāyānām=ashṭānāṁ pratyēkaṁ daśa-pāṭakāḥ | pra-

44 ti-maṭha-pañcha-chchhātrāṇāṁ pañcha-pāṭakāḥ | mālākāra-nāpita-tailika-rajakānāṁ(nām) | ashṭa-karmmakara-charmmakārāṇāñ=cha | pratyēkaṁ(kam) | ardha-

45 pāṭakaḥ | vē(chē)ṭṭi(ṭi)kā-dvayasya pratyēkaṁ pād-ōna-pāṭakaḥ | pratimaṭha-nna(na)va-karmma-nimittañ=cha daśa-pāṭakāḥ | pratimaṭha-chatushṭayē cha | ma-

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1 *Dā* had been originally engraved and then the *ā* - sign was erased.

2 Read *ghuṭik-ārthaṁ*. Gupta Chaudhury reads *pālighaṭṭakārthaṁ* and interprets it as 'for the stipends' without reference to any authority.

3 Read *dvāviṁśati*.

4 Read *chēṭikānāṁ*. Gupta Chaudhury reads the word as *vēṭṭikā* both here and in line 45 below and explains it tentatively as 'sweeper of the *ma ha*'.

5 Read *chatvāriṁśat*.

6 Read *viṁśa°*.

7 *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

46 hattara-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇasya | pāṭaka-dvayaṁ(yam) | vārikasya s-ārddha-pāṭakaḥ | kāyasthasya s-ārddha-pāṭaka-dvayaṁ(yam) | gaṇakasya pāṭakaḥ | vyai(vai)dyasya pāṭa-

47 ka-trayaṁ(yam) | ēvam=anēna niyamēna | aśīty-uttara-pāṭaka-śata-dvayaṁ(yam) | Vāvusa-datta | Harsha | Śēkhara | Viśvarūpa | Bhānudatta[1] | Īśāna |

48 Dhanyanāga | Nandayaśaḥ | Chaṅga | Gōvarddhana | Siṅgha(Siṁha)datta | Kamalanandi | Savitāra | Māṇikya | Kāmuka | Bhīmapāla[1] | Annaṭa | Vatsadhara | Nandaghō-

49 sha | Śrīdhara | Rāma | Śivava(ba)ndhu | Maṅgala | Vēdō | Dhavala | Vihna(shṇu)datta | Śāntidāma | Garggaśarmma | Mahīndrasōma | Ravikara | Bhānu | Nārāyaṇa |

50 [Jyēshṭha ?] gupta | Śasi(śi)datta | Hari | Jayadatta-Gargg-ādi-shaḍ-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-sahasrē-bhyaś=cha | nānā-gōtra-pravarēbhyaḥ | chatuś-charaṇa-nānā-śākh-ādhyāyibhyaḥ |

51 sama-vibhāgēna śēsha-bhūmiḥ | ity=ēvaṁ(vam)| **Vra(Bra)hma[1]** | **Agni** | **Yōgēśvara** | **Jai-mani-Mahākālēbhyaḥ**|**shaḍ-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-sahasrēbhyaś=cha** || upari-likhita-

52 sīm-āvachchhinn-Āvēḍikā-samēta-vishayā ētē | sa-talāḥ | s-ōddēśāḥ | s-āmra-panasāḥ | sa-guvā[ka*]-nālikērāḥ | sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-gartt-ōsharāḥ | sa-

53 daś-āparādhāḥ | sa-chōr-ōddharaṇāḥ | parihṛita-sarvva-pīḍāḥ | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśāḥ | a-kiñchid-grāhyāḥ | samasta-rāja-bhōga-kara-hiraṇya-pra[tyā]-

54 ya-sahitāḥ | ratna-traya-bhūmi-varjjitāḥ | Indrēśvāra-nauva(ba)ndha-prativa(ba)ddha-daśadrōṇika-dvāpañchāśat-pāṭaka-va(ba)hiḥ | mahāmudrādhikṛita-śrī-Śubhā-

55 ṅga-d[ū*]taka-mukhēna | bhagavantamvu(m=Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya | mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō=bhivṛiddhayē | **Śrāvaṇa-ravi-saṅkrāntau** vidhivad=udaka-

56 pūrvvakaṁ kṛitvā | ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-samakālaṁ yāvat | bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna | tāmraśāsanīkṛitya pradattā āsmābhiḥ | yatō bhavadbhir=jjanapadaiḥ

57 kshētrakarairvvrā(r=Bbrā)hmaṇais=cha vidhēyībhūya yathā dīyamāna-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ | kāryaḥ | yathā-kāla-bhāvi-bhōgapatibhir=api bhūmēr=ddāna-phala-gau-

58 ravāt | apaharaṇē mahānaraka-pāta-bhayāch=cha | dānam=idaṁ samyag=anumōdy=ānupālanīyam=iti | **samva(saṁva)t 5 Vaiśākha-dinē 5** | tathā cha dharmm-ā-

59 nuśaṁsinaḥ ślōkāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [16*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha

60 bhūmim=prayachchhati | ubho(bhau) tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ śva(sva)rgga-gāminau || [17*] Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ |

61 sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nnṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyaḥ kramēṇa || [18*] Sva-dattāṁ=para-dattāmvā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā

62 pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē || [19*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi pu-

63 rushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ | (||) [20*] **Sālavarēndri**-vinirggata-Śubhāṅga-dūtaka-mukhēna **Chandrapuraṁ(ram)[2]** | śāsanam=idam=pravṛittaṁ rājñaḥ **Śrīchandradēṁ(dē)-**

64 **vasya** || [21*] **Kāligrāma**-bhavō Vaishṇavaḥ samārōpayāṁva(ba)bhūva kṛitī | śrīmān Vinā-yak-ākhyō viprāṇāṁ shaḍ(shaṭ)-sahasrāṇi || [22*] Ētach=chhāsanam=u-

65 tkīrṇṇaṁ Haradāsēna si(śi)lpinā | Dhāttr=ā[3][pi*] nirmmitaṁ yasya |[4] sādṛiśyaṁ karmmaṇaḥ kvachit || [23*] sāndhi-ni[5]

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[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] The name Śrīchandrapura has been quoted here as Chandrapura for the sake of the metre.

[3] Gupta Chaudhury reads *vārttā* and translates the latter half of the stanza as follows: "Similar acts, the accounts of which are made (recorded), are scarcely found".

[4] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[5] A few *aksharas* may have been engraved here and then erased. Gupta Chaudhury reads *anu* at the end of the document, which would give an idea of incompleteness.

PASCHIMBHAG PLATE OF SRICHANDRA, YEAR 5—Plate II

Seal



Scale : One-half

No. 52—NUN INSCRIPTION OF SADHADEVA, VIKRAMA 1335[1]

(*1 Plate*)

C. L. Suri, Mysore

(*Received on 12.7.1966*)

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India was copied by me in February 1963 at **Nūn**, a village in Sirohi Tahsil of the District of the same name in Rajasthan. It is engraved on a stone beam resting on two pillars in the Saṁgamēśvara temple which stands at a distance of about a mile to the north of the said village. The temple contains in all three inscriptions including the one under study.

The inscription consists of three lines of writing which is in a fairly good state of preservation. It covers a space about 43 cm broad by 7 cm high. The individual *aksharas* are 1½ to 2 cm high. The last line is comparatively very short. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A. D. The symbol for *siddhaṁ* and the form of final *t* (cf. *saṁvat* in line 1) are interesting. The initial vowels *ā* and *u* have been used in *Bhā[vi]āra* and *Chāhuāṇa* in line 3 and *rāuta* in line 2. The use of *pṛishṭhamātrās* may be observed in some words (cf. *dinē* in line 1 and °*mēsvara* in line 2) side by side with the alternative top-strokes (cf. *varshē* in line 1 and °*dēva* in line 2). The use of dental *s* for the palatal *ś* may be noted as an orthographical peculiarity of the record (cf. °*mēsvara* in line 2). The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit and shows influence of the local dialect (cf. *Bhādravā* in line 1, *cha[ṁ]kī* in line 2 and *varasaṁ* in line 3).

The date is quoted as **Vikrama 1335, Bhādravā (Bhādrapada) śu. 2, Thursday**. This regularly corresponds to **1279 A.D., August 10, Thursday, f.d.t.-18.**

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* followed by the date referred to above. The next passage (lines 1-2) mentions *Mahārājakula-śrī-Rāuta* **Sāḍhadēva** who is stated to have donated a sum of 120 *drammas* for the construction of a bay (*chaṁkī=chaukī*)[2] in the temple of the god Saṁgamēśvara. In the last line (line 3) are mentioned two persons named Bhāviāra [or Bhādhiāra] and Chāhuāṇa Ḍūṁgara. It is stated that they donated annually a sum of 129 and 2 *drammas* respectively.

Mahārājakula-śrī-Rāuta Sāḍhadēva is not known to us from any other source. The inscription also provides perhaps the first instance where the title *Mahārājakula*, which is known to have been assumed by a number of rulers in the period under question,[3] has been attached to a humbler title *Rāuta* which is indicative of the status of a small feudatory chief.[4] This fact appears to suggest that Sāḍhadēva was only a feudatory chief prior to the date of our inscription and that he had become powerful enough to assume the title *Mahārājakula* along with his earlier title *Rāuta* in V. S. 1335 (1279 A.D.). Unfortunately the inscription neither gives the name of his father nor supplies any information about the family to which he belonged.

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[1] This is *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 931.

[2] The word is correctly spelt as *chaüki* in another inscription in the same temple. (For meaning of the word *chaukī*, cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*—Buddhist and Hindu Periods—p. 196).

[3] (1) Sōngirā Chāhamāna *Mahārājakula* Chāchigadēva (see Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 590 and 592); (2) *Mahārājakula* Sāmantasiṁha, the former's son and successor, (ibid., Nos. 602, 605, 609, 618 and 619); (3) Guhila *Mahārājakula* Jayasiṁhadēva (ibid., No. 546); (4) Guhila *Mahārājakula* Samarasiṁha (ibid., Nos. 593 and 617), etc.

[4] Cf. the assumption of both feudatory and imperial titles by Kakka of Khēṭaka (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 219.)

The Sōngirā Chāhamāna rulers Chāchigadēva and Sāmantasiṁha[1] are known to have held sway over some parts of the erstwhile Sirohi State.[2] The discovery of the present inscription at Nūn near Sanpur where an inscription of Chāchigadēva was found,[3] suggests that Sāḍhadēva belonged to the Jālōr or Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamānas. Though it is difficult to ascertain his relationship with Chāchigadēva or Sāmantasiṁha, he may possibly be regarded as a son of the former.[4] A prince named Chāhaḍadēva is mentioned by Mūtā Naiṇsaī as the eldest of the three sons of Chāchigadēva, the other two being Sāvatasiṁha (i.e. Sāmantasiṁha) and Chandra.[5] From the similarity of the names Sāḍha and Chāhaḍa and the fact that variant names of many rulers are noticed not only in the *Khyāts* but also in their inscriptions,[6] it is tempting to suggest that Sāḍhadēva may be identical with Chāhaḍadēva.[7]

If the above identification is accepted, it will follow that Sāḍhadēva, being the eldest son of Chāchigadēva, was the natural heir to the Jālōr throne. But Chāchigadēva is known to have been succeeded by Sāmantasiṁha sometime before V. S. 1339 (1282-83 A. D.) which is the date of his first known inscription.[8]

Our inscription which is dated V. S. 1335 (1279 A. D.) and mentions *Mahārājakula Rāuta* Sāḍhadēva throws valuable light on the state of affairs prevailing at that time. It appears that Chāchigadēva was living at the time of our inscription. But he seems to have vested all authority in Sāḍhadēva presumably because of his old age. The latter, however, had not ascended the throne and was managing the affairs of the kingdom in the name of his father. This seems to be the only satisfactory explanation why he continued the use of the title *Rāuta* along with the title *Mahārājakula*. The fact that his name is not mentioned in most of the chronicles indicates that he never actually ascended the throne and perhaps died shortly after V. S. 1335 (1279 A. D.). Though the possibility of a struggle between Sāḍhadēva and Sāmantasiṁha for the Jālōr throne resulting in the success of the latter is also not ruled out, we shall have to await further light on this question.

TEXT[9]

1 Siddham[10] [||*] **Saṁvat 1335 varshē Bhādrava[11]-sudi 2 Guru-dinē** Mahārājaku-

3 la-śrī-Rāuta-**Sāḍhadēva** śrī-Saṁgamēsva(śva)ra-cha[ṁ]kī[12] ghaṭiti drā 120 dattaḥ

3 Bhā[vi]āra[13] drā 129 Chāhuāṇa-Ḍūṁgara drā 2 dattaḥ varasaṁ[14] prati ||

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[1] The inscriptions of Chāchigadēva range from V.S. 1319 to 1334 (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 46 and footnote 5) and those of Sāmantasiṁha from V. S. 1339 to 1362 (Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 159).

[2] The Sanpur inscription of Chāchigadēva (Bhandarkar's List, No. 586) and the Lāś, Vāgiṇ and Uthmaṇ inscriptions of Sāmantasiṁha (ibid., Nos. 618, 651 and 657) come from the Sirohi State.

[3] Ibid., No. 586.

[4] The title *Rāuta* which is derived from Sanskrit *Rājaputra* (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 142) may also indicate that he was a royal prince.

[5] *Chauhāna-Kula-Kalpa-Druma* (Hindi), pt. I, p. 164. Dasharatha Sharma mentions the name of Chāhaḍadēva after that of Sāmantasiṁha without indicating as to who was the elder of the two (*Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 158).

[6] The name of Chāchigadēva is variously spelt as Chācha, Chāchaga°, Chāchiga, Chāchakaka°, and Chāchika (cf. *Chauhāna-kula-Kalpa-druma*, pp. 164 f.; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 605, 586-87, etc.). For the variant spellings of the name of Sāmantasiṁha, see, op. cit.; ibid., Nos. 622, 629, 645, 651, 657, etc.

[7] It may be noted that Chāhaḍa seems to have been a popular name of the Rajputs in medieval India; for a number of persons bearing this name are known from inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 350, 560, 642 and 1508).

[8] Bhandarkar's List, p. 383.

[9] From impressions.

[10] Expressed by symbol.

[11] Read *Bhādrapada*.

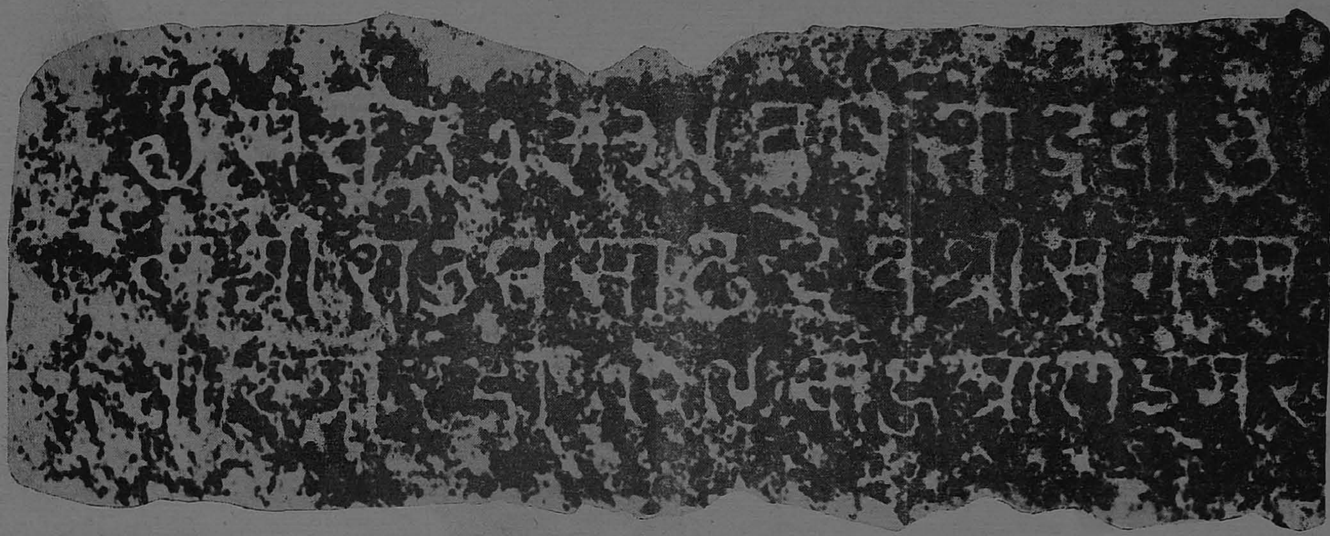
[12] Read *chaükī*. See above, p. 305, note 2.

[13] The reading may also be *Bhādhiāra*.

[14] Read *varshaṁ*.

NUN INSCRIPTION OF SADHADEVA, VIKRAMA 1335

Left-half

2  2

Right-half

2  2

Scale : Five-eighths

No. 53—MALKANKOPPA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA VI AND KADAMBA GUHALLADEVA, SAKA 1026

(*1 Plate*)

K. V. Ramesh and Madhav N. Katti, Mysore

(*Received on 2.8.1966*)

The inscription[1] being edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore, was copied by Shri Madhav N. Katti in October, 1965 while conducting the epigraphical survey of the Kalghatgi Taluk of Dharwar District, Mysore State. The inscribed stone slab was found set up at the entrance of a step-well near the plinth of a structure in the village of **Malkankoppa** in the aforementioned Taluk and District.

The record is written in Kannaḍa **characters** of the 11th-12th century A.D. and the **language** is a mixture of Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. The text is an admixture of prose and verse, the verses preceding, intervening and succeeding the prose passages. On the top of the inscribed slab is sculptured in relief a *maṇṭapa* with a Jaina image seated at the centre. On the left side of the *maṇṭapa* are carved the crescent moon above and below it a seated devotee with his hands folded while on the right side the sun above and cow and calf below are found in relief.

There are in all 34 lines of writing. The inscribed face of the slab has suffered some damage in its upper half as a result of which the writing in lines 1-24 is not as well preserved as in the succeeding lines.

The characters are regular for the period to which the record belongs i.e. the beginning of the 12th century and there are no specially noteworthy **palaeographical** peculiarities. The following **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed: consonants immediately preceded by *r* are doubled in all cases except in °*chāryyar-lōkā* in line 14. In almost all cases, the *anusvāra* either replaces the class nasal or is found employed in addition to the class nasal. The auxiliary letter *u* is found added to the end of the final word in Kannaḍa verses even when the metre is thereby rendered defective. Regional influence is met with in such spellings as *prasasti* (for Sanskrit *praśasti*) in lines 8 and 10, *sishṭa* (for Sanskrit *śishṭa*) in line 11, *vineya* for *vinaya* in line 21, *Saka* for *Śaka* in line 24, etc., and in the writing of *vyākṛiti* and *kāvya* as *byākṛiti* and *kābya* in line 15, and so on. Medial *ṛi* is generally wrongly written with both the symbols for *ṛi* and *i*.

The purpose of the record is to register the grant of land (boundaries specified), house, a garden, an oil-mill and also oil from the remaining oil-mills (of the village) to the *basadi* constructed by Boṁmi°- or Baṁmi-seṭṭi, also referred to in the inscription by the name of Bammaṇa of Puligōḍu, belonging to the Sāgala family after laving the feet of Śāntivīradēva of Yāpanīya-saṁgha, Maiḍāp-ānvaya and Kāreya-gaṇa, while *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Gūvalladēva** of the Kadamba dynasty was administering the territory as a feudatory of **Tribhuvanamalla** i.e. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya emperor of Kalyāṇa. The inscription stipulates that the grants thus made were to be protected by the *aṛuvatt-okkalu*, the *gauṇḍas* and the rulers of the earth. The gift of a *jōgavaṭige* by Ekkōṭi-chakravarttigaḷ is also recorded.

[1] The inscription is noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, No. B. 404.

The inscription is dated **Śaka 1026, Subhānu, uttarāyṇa-saṁkrānti.** The details are insufficient for verification. However, in the given year, the uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti occurred on Pausha ba. 9, Friday which corresponded to **1103 A. D., December 25.**

The inscription commences with the well-known invocatory stanza *Śrīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra*, etc. (verse 1 : line 1). Lines 2-6, comprising prose passages and verse 2, give the spiritual descent of Śāntivīra-mōninātha. Vijayakīrttidēva, Nāgachandradēva, Kāmahara-saiddhānta-śirōmaṇi, Kanakaśāntimuni, Abhayēndu-mōnidēva and Mahēndrakīrtti are mentioned as the spiritual predecessors of Śāntivīra.

Lines 7-9 introduce the reigning king Tribhuvanamalla and lines 9-11 introduce his feudatory *Mahīmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Gūvalladēva who is given, besides others, the epithets *Banavāsipura-varādhīśvara* and *Kādaṁbachūḍāmaṇi* and merely refer to his reign without naming the territories which were under his sway.

Verse 3 (lines 12-13) is in praise of the Yāpanīya-saṅgha, Maiḷāp-ānvaya[1] and Kāreya-gaṇa while verse 4 (lines 13-14) states that in that Kāreya-gaṇa *santati* there were, in the past, a number of *āchāryyas*. Verse 5 (lines 14-16) in Sanskrit and the next one (verse 6, lines 16-18) in Kannaḍa are devoted to the praise of the ascetic Ēkavīra (*s.a.* Śāntivīra) who had vanquished heretics in debates, who was unparallelled in his mastery over *tarkka, vyākaraṇa, kāvya* and *nāṭaka*, who was the very ocean of compassion and who was causing the unimpeded growth of Kāreya-gaṇa.

Verse 7 (lines 18-20) is not happily composed but its contents are discernible as follows: There was Bommi-seṭṭi considered as the most fortunate among human beings. His religious preceptor (*guru*) was Śāntivīra. Maruḷa and Nanniyakka were his parents while Sāriyakka is mentioned as his wife. His teacher was Sim[ha*]ṇārya, who always followed the teachings of Manu, and his son was Chikkaṇa.

From verse 8 (lines 20-22) we learn that Baṁmiseṭṭi constructed a *basadi*. The next verse (verse 9 : lines 22-24) tells us that Bammaṇa established a *samudāya*, bestowed hospitality (on others), gave away whatever was needed to the needy and derived satisfaction by giving *anna-dāna*. This verse claims that poets were infatuated by the (look of the) *basadi* built by Bammaṇa.

Line 24 contains the details of the date, discussed above. The details of the grant, summarised above, are given in lines 24-31. Lines 31-34 contain two of the usual imprecatory stanzas (verses 11 and 12).

Mahīmaṇḍaḷēśvara Gūvalladēva of our inscription is to be identified with Gūhalladēva II, the son and successor of Jayakēśin I of the Goa Kadamba family. While most of the records[2] of this family, purporting to give a genealogical account, omit the name of Gūhalladēva and mention only Vijayāditya as the son of Jayakēśin I, the Narēndra inscription[3] of 1125 A.D. mentions him as the elder son of Jayakēśin I, Vijayāditya, the father of Jayakēśin II, being the younger. Again, the Aḷnāvar inscription[4] of Śaka 1003 or 1081-82 A. D., which provides us with the earliest known date for Gūhalladēva's reign, refers to him as the son of

[1] See *Jainism in South India*, pp. 112-13 where it is pointed out that Mailāpa-anvaya derived its name from the holy place Mailāpa-tīrtha.

[2] See *JBBRAS.*, Vol. IX, pp. 262 ff., Nos. 1-3.

[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 298 ff.

[4] *SII.*, Vol. XV, No. 225.

Jayakēśin I (*śrīmaj-Jayakēsidēvar-ttat-putra*). The latest known date for the reign of Gūhalladēva II is furnished by his Mugad inscription of 1125 A. D.

Our inscription does not name the territories which were under the sway of Gūhalladēva II. But according to the Aḷnāvar inscription discussed above, he was ruling over Koṁkaṇa-900, Palasige-12000, Kundūru-500, Uṇkal-30, Sabbi-30, Haive-500, Utsugrāme-30, Kādaravaḷḷi-30, Kontakuḷi-30 and Kavaḍidvīpa-savālakka in 1081-82 A. D. Of these Kavaḍidvīpa is the same as Kāpardikadvīpa which Gūhalladēva II's father, Jayakēśin I is known to have annexed after slaying its ruler in battle.[1]

Baṁmiseṭṭi, who built the *basadi* and made to it grants recorded in the inscription under study, is stated to belong to the Sāgala family and to **Puligōḍu or Huligōḍu.** In a recently discovered inscription[2] from Huṇasīkaṭṭi, Kalghatgi Taluk, belonging to the reign of Jagadēkamalla II and dated in 1142 A. D., one Mudda-gauṇḍa of Huligōḍu, stated to be the son of Chāyi-gauṇḍa of the Sāgala family and the subordinate of Kadamba Permāḍidēva, figures as one of the donors. It may, therefore, be concluded that the Sāgala family had established itself in Huligōḍu. The place where Baṁmiseṭṭi built the *basadi* is not mentioned in our record. But the provenance of the inscription would suggest that the *basadi* as also the gift-land are to be located at the village of Malkankoppa itself.[3]

As stated above, the inscription also records the gift of a *jōgavaṭige* by Ekkōṭi-chakravartti-gaḷ. Kittel explains this word as the *tad-bhava* of *yōga-paṭṭike* (Sanskrit *yōga-paṭṭaka*) meaning 'the cloth thrown over the back and knees of an ascetic during meditation'. The beneficiary of the gift, therefore, appears to be the ascetic Śāntivīra.

Puligōḍu or Huligōḍu, the only place mentioned in the inscription, is to be identified with the locality now called Huliguḍḍa near Malkankoppa, the findspot of the inscription.

TEXT[4]

[Metres :—Verses 1, 12 and 13 *Anushṭubh*; verses 2-4, 6, 8 and 10 *Kanda*; verse 5 *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*; verse 7 *Mahāsragdharā*; verse 9 *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; verse 11 *Śālinī*.]

1[5] Śrīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-[lāṁchhana]ṁ [|*] jīyāt-trailōkya-nāthasya śāsa-naṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ(nam) [||1||*] [Śrī]-

2 mad-Vijayakīrttidēva-muninātha[ṁ jai]na-siddhānta-śāsana-sāmrājya-[ra]t[nā]kara........ ....[nātha]....na

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 567 ff.

[2] This is noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, as No. B 398.

[3] Adjacent to the inscribed slab, there is the plinth of a structure, about 5 feet in height, built in rubble stone masonry (one of the common techniques employed by the architects in medieval India). The plinth has also the traces of a burnt-brick superstructure on its upper surface. The possibility of the ruined complex being the residue of the *basadi* constructed by Baṁmiseṭṭi, mentioned in the record under study, cannot be ruled out.

[4] From inked impressions.

[5] There is a floral design at the beginning of this line.

3 vidyā-nidhi Nāgachaṁdra-yatimukhyaru || Tat-sadharmm-[ākhya]....nayā....Ravichaṁdra-dēva.....siddhānta-ratnāka-

4 raru || Ā maṁtravādi-nikara-lalāma śrī-Nāgachaṁdradēvara śishyar-Kkāmahara-saidhhānta-śirōmaṇigaḷ-Ka-

5 nakaśānti-munipar-negaḷdaru[1] ||[2||*] Abhayēṁdu-mōnidēvō tach-chhisi[2]śya(shya) śrī-Mahēṁ-drakīrtti-mahāvīr-āchā-

6 ryyō bhavy-āṁbuja-mārttaṁḍa Śāntivīra-mōnināthō=bhūtu(bhūt) | Ā munīṁdra-bṛiṁda pravarttisuttam=ire || Svasti [||*]

7 Samastabhuvanāśrayaṁ śrī-pṛii(pṛi)thvīvallabhaṁ mahārājādhirāja-Chāḷukyābharaṇ-ādi paryyāṁtaṁ sama-

8 sta-prasasti-sahitaṁ śrīma[t*]-**Tṛii(Tri)bhuvanamalladēva**-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhi-[vṛiddhi*]-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ā-

9 rkka-tāraṁ[3]baraṁ saluttam=ire [||] Svasti [||*] Samadhigata-paṁchamahāśabda mahāmaṁ-ḍaḷēśvaraṁ Banavāsi-pu-

10 ravārādhīśvaraṁ Kādaṁba-chūḍāmaṇī-paryyāṁta samasta-prasasti-sahitaṁ san.āḷaṁkṛitama-(r-a)ppa śrī-

11 man-mahāmaṁḍaḷēśvaraṁ **Gūvalladēvaṁ** dushṭa-nigraha-sishṭa-pratipāḷanadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam=ire ||

12 śrī-Vīr-ānvayadiṁ baṁd-ī viśruta Yāpanīya-saṁgha[do]ḷ-aṟivaṁ bhāvi[se] Maiḷāp-ānvayam-ā

13 vaṇṇipud-aṇṇa negaḷda Kāreya-gaṇamaṁ(mam)[4] ||[3||*] Iṁt-oppuva Kāreya-gaṇa-saṁtati-yoḷu muṁn-anēkar=ā-

14 chāryyar-lōkāṁtaṁbara samaṁt-aṁt-ire palarum-ādar-alliṁ baḷiya ||[4||*] Mādyad-vād-mad-āṁdha-siṁdhura-

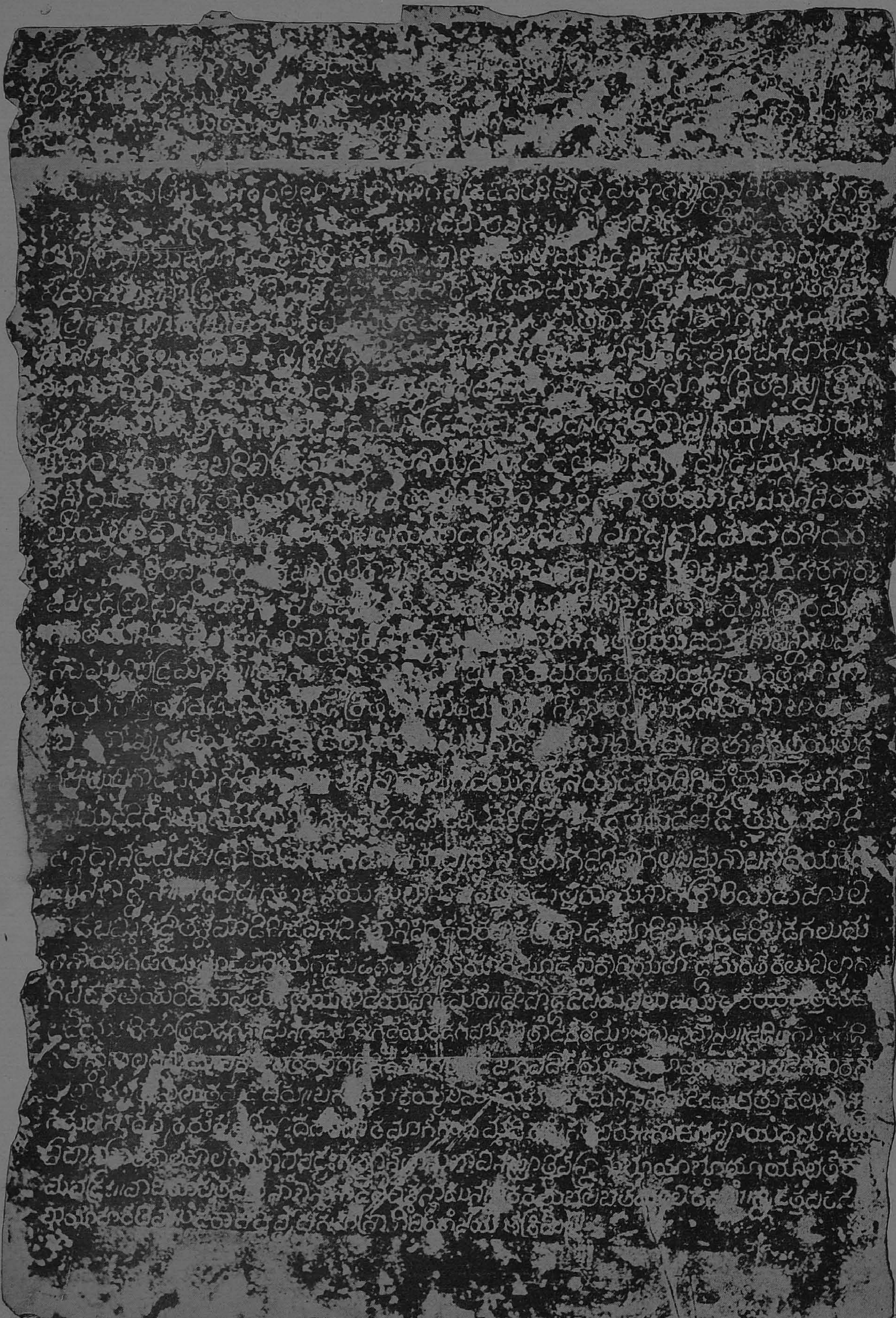
15 ghaṭā-kaṁṭhīrava-śṛi(Śrī)dharaḥ tarkka-byākṛiti-kābya-nāṭaka-lasaṁ(san)-ni[s*]sīma-vidyā-dharaḥ [||] vidyudubṛii(dvad-bṛi)ṁda-saras-sarō-

16 ja-paṭala-prōṁdughaḍanā[5]-bhāskaraḥ jējīyād=ayam=Ēkavīra-munipa[s*]=saujanya-ratnākaraḥ ||[5*||] Śrīramaṇi-

17 ge neley-enisida Kāreya-gaṇa-vārddhi-varddhan-ōdyama-[jī]v-ādhāran-enut-arttiyiṁdaṁ dhāriṇi baṇṇisuvud-e-

[1] Final *u* is redundant for the metre.
[2] This *si* is redundant.
[3] The *anusvāra* is engraved on top in between the letters *tā* and *ra*.
[4] The *Kanda* metre employed here is defective.
[5] Read *prōdghaṭṭanā*.

MALKANKOPPA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA VI AND KADAMBA GUHALLADEVA, SAKA 1026



Scale : Two-ninths

18 seva muni-chaṁdramananu[1]||[6||*] Jinan-āptaṁ Śāṁ[ti]vīra-brati guru Maruḷaṁ taṁde tāy Nanniyakkaṁ tanag-int-ī Sā-

19 riyakka priya-vadhu viney-āḷaṁkri(kṛi)taṁ mōnināthaṁ manmārggaṁ Siṁṇṇ[2]-āryy am ohu(bu)dha-nidhi-saṇaṁ[3] bāy-ese

20 Chikkaṇ-ākhyaṁ taneyaṁ tān-eṁdoḍ-ī lōkadā [ma]nujaroḷ-ēṁ dhany[4]anō Boṁmiseṭṭi ||[7||*] Ituṁ(Iṁtu) negartteyaṁ tāḷd-a-

21 naghaṁ Puligōḍa Baṁmi-seṭṭi samast-āvani pogaḷe basadiyaṁ sad-vineyade māḍisi kṛitā[5]-tthā(rttha)n=ādaṁ jagado-

22 ḷu[6] ||[8||*] Mudadiṁdaṁ samudāyamaṁ nilisi satkāraṁgaḷaṁ māḍi bēḍida śishṭ-ēshṭa-janakke takkud=aṟid=itt=utsāhadiṁ-

23 d=aṁnna(anna)-dānada peṁpaṁ paḍed-iṁtu māḍisidan=aṁnt(ant)-ant-ōdgham-aṁnt(ant)-aṁtte(ante) rāgadin-ī Sāgala Bammaṇaṁ basadiyaṁ ka[gga]-

24 r-mmanaṁ-goḷvinaṁ ||[9||*] **Saka-varsha 1026 neya Subhānu saṁvatsarad-uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁtiy-aṁdu** Hulī-

25 gōḍa Bammi-seṭṭi tanna-māḍisida basadige Śāṁnti(Śānti)vīradēvara pāda-prakshālana māḍi biṭṭa gadde ūriṁ baḍagalu Ma-

26 saṇeyageṟeya modalēriya gadde baḍagalu saiverey-āgi mūḍaṇa kōḍiya haḷḷaṁ mēre [|*] teṁkalu bilvāṭh-ā-

27 gi baṁda keṟey-ēriṁ paḍuvalu keṟeya kōḍiya haḷḷaṁ mēre || Ā haḷḷadiṁ paḍuvalu bayala keyi mattar=eraḍu

28 basa[7]diya parisūtrad-oḷagaṇa manegaḷu hosa-gaddeya keḷage hūvina tōṁṭakke kaṁ(ka)mma 200 gāṇav=oṁn(on)du || uḷida gāṇaṁgaḷi-

29 ge eṁṇṇe(eṇṇe) solage voṁdu || Ekkōṭi-Chakravarttigaḷ=ikkidar-atisayade jōgavaṭigeyaṁ | Aṁta(Aṁtekkū(kū)rmne(rmme)yiṁde basadige mik[k*]-ese-

30 v=āchāryya[rān kaluttamma]dēvaru[8] ||[10||*] Basadiya keyyuṁ maneyuṁ tōṁṭaman=anu-nayadiṁd=aṟuvattu(vatt=o)kkalu gauṇḍu-

31 gaḷuṁ vasudhē[9]śvararuṁ sarvvā(rvva)-bādha(dhe) parihāram=āge sudharmmadiṁ rakshi-suvaru || Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētuṁ(tur)=

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1 Final *u* is redundant for the metre.
2 Read *Manu-mārggaṁ Siṅghaṇ°*.
3 The word intended may have been *suguṇaṁ*.
4 The letter *nya* is engraved below *nō* in small size.
5 The letter *tā* is engraved above the line.
6 Final *u* is redundant for the metre which is even otherwise defective.
7 The letter *sa* is engraved above the line.
8 The purport of the second half of this verse is not clear.
9 The engraver appears to have engraved *rē* and corrected it into *dhē*.

32 nṛii(nṛi)pāṇā[ṁ*] kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhaḥ(dbhiḥ)[|*] sarvvān=ētānu(tān) bhāvinaḥ-pārtti(rtthi)vēndrānu(drān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-

33 macha[ṁ*]draḥ ||[11||*] Vāpī-kūpa-tāṭākānāṁ bhinnāṁ(nnā)nāṁ dēva-vēśmanā[ṁ] punas-kāra-kkattu[1] cha labhatē mūlikaṁ phalaṁ(lam) ||[12||*] Svadattaṁ(ttāṁ) paradattam-(ttāṁ)

34 vā yō harēti(ta) vasuṁdharā[ṁ*] [|*] shashṭir-vvarsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭā[2]vāṁ jāyatē krimi[ḥ*] ||[13||*]

[1] Read *punaḥkaraṇa-karttā* for the sake of metre.
[2] The letter *shṭā* is engraved above the line.

No. 54—VADDARSE INSCRIPTION OF ALUVARASA

(1 Plate)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

(Received on 8.12.1964)

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone slab set up in the *prākāra* of the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at **Vaḍḍarse** in the Udipi Taluk of South Kanara District, Mysore State. It has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1931-32, as No. 296. While discussing the contents of this inscription on page 60 of part II of this *Report*, wherein photographs of the record are also published, it has been stated that this inscription, belonging to Āḷuvarasa, "mentions his subordinate Kanda-varmmarasa who is not known from other sources. Since the writing is much damaged and worn out no further details can be made out of it". In view of the importance of this epigraph for the early history of South Kanara I visited Vaḍḍarse in 1961 in order to study the record *in situ* and to take fresh impressions.

The stone on which the epigraph is engraved is an irregular cone in shape, tapering towards the top. There is writing all over the sloping surface but the text itself is found in three sections. The first one, containing 11 lines, the longest of which is made up of 10 letters, is engraved on a slightly flatter surface. The second one occupies almost twice as much area but a number of letters in the 13 lines available are badly worn out. The last section, in three lines engraved vertically across the sloping surface and beginning at the bottom and running upwards, is presented in a narrow strip of space between the ends of the lines in the first and the beginnings of the lines in the second section. For the sake of convenience the three sections will be referred in the following pages as A, B and C respectively.

The record is in early Kannaḍa **characters** and **language**. The inscription is not dated but could be assigned to the middle of the seventh century on grounds of palaeography which agrees with that of similar records of the same period. Archaic forms of *r*, *y*, *l* and *k* are particularly helpful in assigning this record to the middle of the seventh century. Of initial vowels, *a*, *ā*, *u*, and *o* occur in the record. The text contains a few words of lexical interest as will be seen below. There are no **orthographical** peculiarities worth noticing except that the full forms of *ṇ* and *m* appear as subscript which is a characteristic of such early inscriptions.

The primary importance of the record lies in the fact that it is the earliest as yet discovered inscription from South Kanara, the coastal district of Mysore State. **Āḷuvarasa,** to whose reign the record refers itself, undoubtedly belonged to the Āḷupa family whose members held sway in that area till the middle of the 14th century. Āḷuvarasa thus becomes the earliest known Āḷupa ruler barring one Paśupati who figures in the Halmiḍi inscription[1] of Kadamba Kākutstha-varman (c. 430-450 A. D.) and who, by virtue of his mention therein as the leader of *Aḷapa(=Āḷupa)-gaṇa*, is sought to be assigned to the Āḷupa dynasty.

Section A is the best preserved part of the record. It begins with the statement *Kanakaśivan-varedon* i.e. 'Kanakaśiva wrote (this record)'. Next is mentioned the kingdom of Āḷuvarasa

[1] *M.A.R.*, 1936, p. 79.

whose only honorific in the record is *śrīmatu*. It further states that in Āḷuvarasa's kingdom (*rājyad-uḷḷe* also means 'during the reign of Āḷuvarasa'), while Kandavarmmarasa's trusted servant Guṇḍa[ṇṇa] was holding *nāṭṭu-mudime* (*i.e* administration of the *nāḍu*, *nāḍu* here probably denoting the region around Vaḍḍarse), Sattigāri was holding the *mudime* of. . banna (probably the name of a subdivision in the *nāḍu*). We also learn from this section that Āḍakappa was (at that time) holding the *vāra* of Voḍḍaṟse. *Vāra*, according to Kittel, means 'a share ; a landlord's half-share of the produce of a field in lieu of rent'. Again, according to Kittel, *vārakke koḍu* means 'to give land to somebody for the sake of cultivation (retaining the ownership and) receiving half its produce instead of rent'.[1] *Vāra-keye* may, therefore, be interpreted to mean that Āḍakappa was enjoying the rights of cultivation over the cultivable lands in Voḍḍaṟse which is the same as Vaḍḍarse, the findspot of the inscription. The remaining portion of section A, in lines 9-11, is unintelligible though the reference is clearly to *kañchu* and *kiḻ-gañchu* which may stand for two denominations of coins struck from *kañchu* 'white copper or brass or bell-metal'. The mention of this currency immediately after the recording of the *vāra* rights may be interpreted to mean that the rent amount accruing from the cultivable lands formed the subject of the grant recorded in section B.

Section B is badly damaged in parts. At the beginning of this section, reference is made to two persons, one of them named Satyādityarasa and the other's name also ending in °dityarasa. The reasons why they find mention therein are not possible to make out in view of the damaged nature of the record. In view of the fact that Āḷupa rulers of the 9th century had such secondary names as Udayāditya and Vijayāditya,[2] it may be suggested here that these two persons may have belonged to the Āḷupa ruling family.

From the text in lines 5-7 it may be inferred that 17 *kañchu* and 1 *kiḻ-gañchu* were granted, on the orders of Chiriyaṇṇa and Guṇḍaṇṇa, for (expenses towards) feeding 17 *brāhmaṇas* (*pārvvār*). Towards the end of this section reference is made to some land grant followed by a curse on those who destroy the grant.

Section C is fragmentary, none of the three lines having come down to us in full. It seems to register the grant of some wet land (*gaḻde*) in Naggepāḍi. The term *pattondi*, which also occurs in the Halmiḍi inscription, is taken to mean 'one tenth of the revenue'.[3] Since the passages in the Halmiḍi and the Vaḍḍarse records, containing this word, are similar, section C may have registered the fact that the donee to whom the wet land in Naggepāḍi was granted was exempted from paying one tenth of the gross produce of this land as tax.

From the point of view of history, the Vaḍḍarse inscription is of much interest. Āḷuvarasa to whose reign this record belongs, is also known from another undated inscription[4] from Kigga in the Kadur district of Mysore State. This inscription which has been assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to about 675 A.D., records that while Kundavarmmarasa[5] was the headman of the district (*nāḍu*), Āḷuvarasa, with the second name of Guṇasāgara (*Guṇasāgara-dvitīya-nāmadhēyan*), who was ruling over Kadamba-maṇḍala, his queen Mahādēvī and their son Chitravāhana confirmed all the tax-free grants made earlier to the god Kiḻgāṇadēva.

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1 *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, s.v. *vāra*.

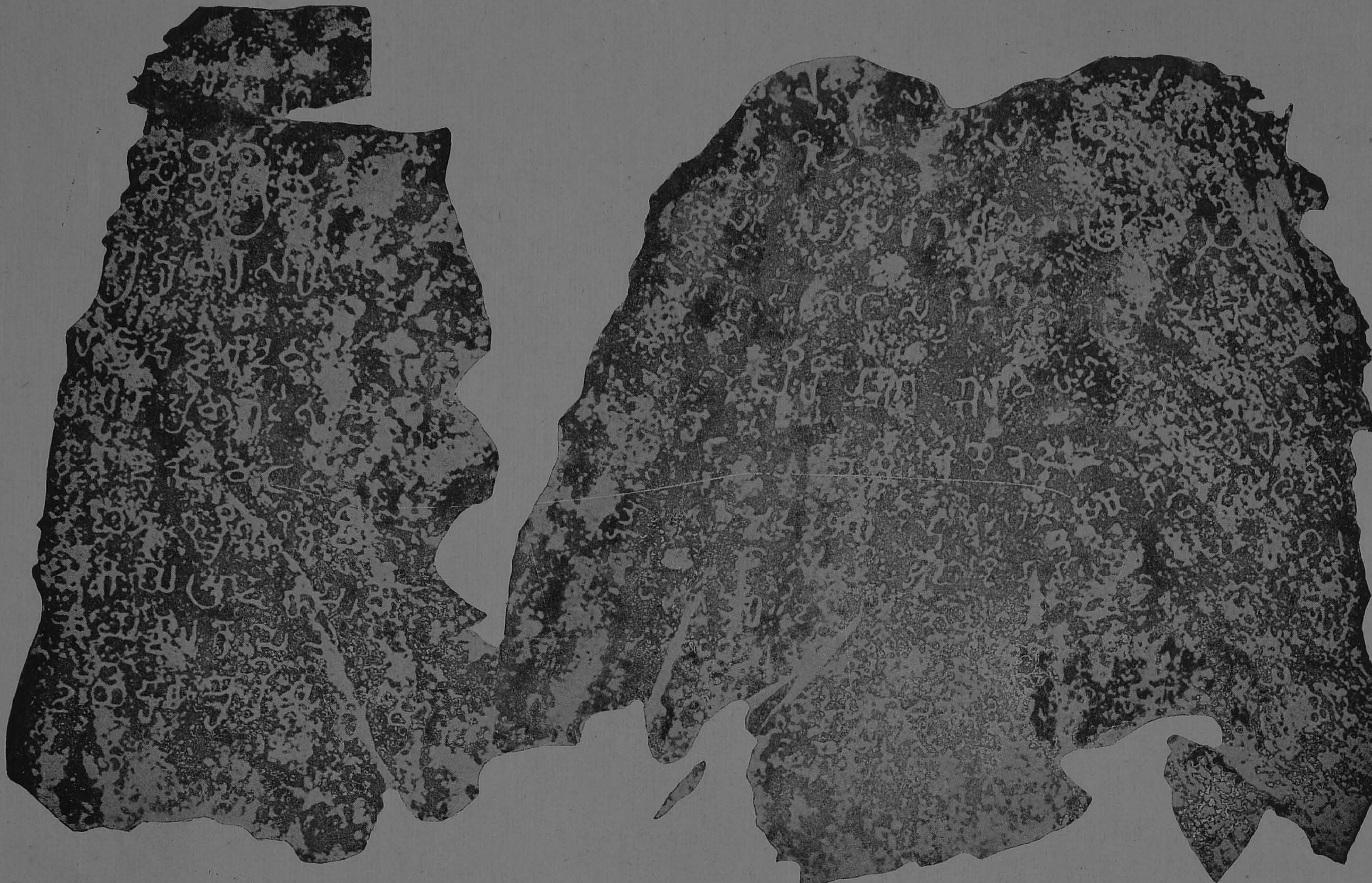
2 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21-23.

3 *M.A.R.*, 1936, p. 74.

4 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 38.

5 Rice read the concerned part of the text as *Kundavarmmarasam muḍimegeye* and translated it as 'on Kundavarmmarasa coming to his end'. Following him, scholars made Kundavarmmarasa the father and predecessor of Āḷuvarasa (*vide*, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 77 ; *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, *History of Tuḷuva*, pp. 74-75). The correct reading of the text, however, is *Kundavarmmarasam mudime geye* i.e. 'when Kundavarmmarasa was the headman (of the district)' (*vide*, above, Vol. IX, p. 2, note 3). It is thus obvious that Kundavarmmarasa was only an official under Āḷuvarasa.

VADDARSE INSCRIPTION OF ALUVARASA



Scale : One-fourth

G. S. Gai

The Sorab copper-plate grant[1] of Chālukya Vinayāditya, issued in 692 A.D., records the gift of the village Sālivoge to the *brāhmaṇa* Divākaraśarman by the emperor at the request of Chitravāha-mahārāja, the son of Guṇasāgara Ālupēndra. There is no doubt that this Guṇasāgara is none other than Āḷuvarasa *alias* Guṇasāgara of the Kigga and Āḷuvarasa of the Vaḍḍarse inscriptions. His son Chitravāha-mahārāja too is the same as the Chitravāhana of the Kigga epigraph. This being the case, Chitravāhana may be considered to have succeeded his father as the ruler of Kadamba-maṇḍala sometime before 692 A.D., the date of the Sorab grant which refers to him as *mahārāja*. The fact that he joined his father in issuing the order recorded in the Kigga inscription implies that Chitravāhana had come of age by then. Āḷuvarasa of our record may thus be considered to have ended his reign not long after 680 A.D.

Though the Sorab plates, referred to above, clearly show that the Āḷupas were the feudatories of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, the Vaḍḍarse and Kigga records are silent on this point. This, coupled with the fact that Āḷuvarasa held sway over Kadamba-maṇḍala, lends support to the few observations made below.

At the violent end of Pulakēśin II in 642, A.D. thirteen years of darkness crept into Chālukya history. From its midst, after years of struggle, the late emperor's son Vikramāditya rose in about 654-55 A.D. and attained to great power. To rebuild upon ruins is more difficult than to build anew. Vikramāditya must have been helped in achieving this near miracle, besides the Gaṅgas, by other ruling houses too. It is not impossible that one such helping hand was that of the Āḷupa ruler Āḷuvarasa. As if in reward for this, we find the Āḷupas in possession of the Kadamba-maṇḍala. The absence of any other records of Āḷuvarasa in South Kanara as also the absence of the mention of any suzerain in the Vaḍḍarse inscription may suggest that it was engraved on a date prior to the accession of Vikramāditya. It may thus be concluded that Āḷuvarasa's reign ranged from about 650 A.D., the probable date of the Vaḍḍarse record, to about 680 A.D., the probable date of his Kigga inscription.

Among the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Voḍḍarse or Voḍḍarase is the same as Vaḍḍarse. I am unable to identify the other place-names mentioned in the record. The *mudime* (headmanship) of Pāḍuvaḷiyā-nāḍu, which was, no doubt, a division situated in the region we are concerned with, is mentioned in section B with reference to two persons (*irvvar*) whose names are lost but the latter of which ended in °*ṇṇa*.

TEXT[2]

A

1 Kanakaśivan-varedon [|*][3]

2 Svasti [||*] śrīmatu

3 **Āḷuvarasarā**

4 rājyad-uḷḷe **Kandavarmma-**

5 **rasarā** prāmāṇ[y-āḷ-ā] Gu[ṇḍaṇṇa]-

6 rā nāṭṭu mudime u[ḷ]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.

[2] From inked impressions.

[3] Though the writer's name generally occurs at the end of records, in this particular case it has been engraved right on top, at the very beginning.

7 ..[ba]nna Sattigāri mudi-

8 me keye Āḍakappa **Voḍḍa-**

9 **ṛseyan**-vāra-keye vilo..

10 oḻidu kañchu kiḻ-gañchu mo..

11 ..vu

B

1 ndi[1]

2 [di]tya[rsa]ru..ā[mbal-keḷayiyā] Satyā-

3 [di]tyarsaru ga . mege appa [a]-

4 dugeü Sattigāri Banne ā[ypavura]

5 Chiriyaṇṇa Guṇḍaṇṇarā vesadin..

6 padinēḻ-kañchu kiḻ-gañchu ondu saṭṭuga ottanoḻu ta..

7 padinēḻbar-uṉbār-ppārvvār āḷappakkennālva..lli..ondu

8 [Vo]ḍḍara[se] . ḍuma pāḍiyān Gōpa[rasa] . yara[ydā]ya

9 Ā . ra . [Vo]ḍḍara[se]..Gōpa.. Paḍuvaḷi[yā] nāḍoḷa..

10 ..[ṇ]ṇar-irvva[r]-Paḍuvaḷi[yā] nāṭṭu mudi[me] barasi..yvaḷirppa

11 ..[ko]ṭṭadu panneraḍu ki..........

12 ....ka..bhūmi koṭṭā..........naḻid

13 ....pātakam-akk[uṁ]

1 ..tya[rsar]gge pa[ṭu]āyā meḻke ā

2 ....pattondiyu Naggepāḍiyā gaḻdeü Neggepàḍiyān

3 ....ta pattondi avarggilla

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[1] Rest of the letters in this line are badly damaged and lost.

No. 55—ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III

(*5 Plates*)

P. R. Srinivasan, Mysore

(*Received on 14.3.1967*)

In December 1964, during my annual collection tour, I visited Bhubaneswar where in the Orissa State Museum, I secured the impressions of the copper-plate charter[1] edited below. According to the Museum authorities, the record was discovered in a place in the **Sakhī-Gōpāl** area, Puri District, and its exact findspot was not known. It consists of a **set of five copper plates** each measuring about 35·5 cm long and 21·4 cm broad. They are held together by a circular ring with a diameter of 13·5 cm and thickness of 1·5 cm. The ends of this ring are soldered to a circular seal which is worked like a blossomed flower with a diameter of 9·5 cm. The ends of the petals are marked off by a circle across which and at right angles to the ring is a figure cast in the round of a couchant bull with a prominent hump. The bull measures 5·5 cm high (from the base to the tip of the horn), 7·5 cm long (from the tip of the mouth to the rear end) and 3·8 cm wide (from the tip of one ear to that of the other). The ears of the bull are projecting out and the bull is decorated with trappings seen on its back. To the left of the bull are shown in relief a conch in a topsy-turvy position, an *aṅkuśa* and a *chāmara* ; and to the right are shown a *chhatra*, a *dhvaja*, a bowl-like object and a *ḍamaru*. These seven objects together with the prominently depicted bull, obviously form a variety of *ashṭa-maṅgala*. Some of the plates are damaged and parts of inscribed surfaces of some others have been corroded. The first plate has writing on one side while the rest have writing on both sides. There are altogether 156 lines of writing. The second side of the first plate, the second side of the second plate and the first side of the third plate have 20 lines each ; the first side of the second plate, the second side of the third plate, both sides of the fourth plate have 19 lines each ; and the first side of the fifth plate has 18 lines while its second side has 2 lines. The plates have raised rims to protect the writing. In spite of this they have suffered from corrosion and slight damages. Consequently, the writing is not preserved well, although the letters are boldly and clearly engraved. The weight of the five plates together is 6369 g.

The **characters** belong to the Gauḍī alphabet and are similar to those of the Nagarī plates[2] of Śaka 1151 and 1152 of the Eastern Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III who is also the issuer of the charter under study.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and its composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. Except for the omission of a single verse in the concluding portion of this record, all the other verses numbering 86 of this record are found also in the above-mentioned Nagarī plates. In respect of orthography also the present record exhibits the same features as found in the latter charter.

The draft of this charter, like that of the one from Nagarī, should have contained the particulars of the date, after verse 80, but while engraving, this passage seems to have been

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[1] Registered as No. A 50 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff., and plates.

inadvertently glossed over. However, the occasion on which the charter was issued is stated to be a **lunar eclipse** (line 128). The mention of the fact that the grant was made at **Śrī-Purushōttama-kshētra** (i.e., Purī) seems to show that the king camped there evidently in connection with the eclipse.

The record refers itself to the reign of **Anaṅgabhīma III** (circa 1211-38 A.D.) of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga. In the eighty verses of the introductory part (lines 1-122) with a prose passage between verses 6 and 7 (lines 12-15), the genealogy of the dynasty upto the reigning monarch is given as in the Nagarī plates.[1] This record is important in that this is the second charter of this king discovered so far and in that the particulars contained in the grant portion reveal some new place-names and other interesting details discussed below.

The **object** of the record is given in the passage beginning from line 121. It is stated that for the increase of his own spiritual merit, king Anaṅgabhīma made a grant of three villages (lines 121-22). The first of the villages granted is called **Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka,** together with an area called **Phaphaḍā-kshētra** with an all-inclusive extent of 62 *vāṭīs*, and it is stated to be situated in a bigger area called **Tippariāamvilō** of the **Sagaḍāvadhi-khaṇḍa** in **Kōṭarāvaṅga-vishaya** (lines 122-23). The second village of which the name is not given, though its boundaries are specified, lay in the **Rālaguñcha-vishaya,** and is stated to have been gifted along with the **Prāchīna-Kapilēśvara,**[2]perhaps an ancient temple or shrine of god Kapilēśvara situated therein (lines 123-25). The third village was **Khambhāra** in **Madhya-khaṇḍa** of the **Rāvaṅga-vishaya** (line 125). Lines 126-28 state that the gift was made to a certain Jagannātha-śarmman, who was the son of Dharādhara-śarmman, grandson of Śrīdhara-śarmman and great-grandson of Ananta-śarmman and who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and the Mādhyandina-śākhā of the Yajur-vēda. The gift which was made tax-free (*akarī-kṛitya*) is said to have been made by the king at Śrī-Purushōttama-kshētra (*i.e.*, Purī) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, to be enjoyed by the donee or donees till the moon, sun and stars last (lines 128-29). In view of the fact that not less than four lists, referred to as A, B, C and D below, of the residents of the Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka-grāma as well as some institutions of the place follow the passage relating to the gift, it appears that the gift was to be shared by all these persons including Jagannātha-śarmman and institutions. Jagannātha-śarmman, to whom the gift was made, received it probably as a representative of the other parties. For the sake of easy reference, the lists of donees are given below in tabular forms. The first list (lines 129-33) consists of the names of Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras, who are referred to as the residents of the village Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka and they are as follows:

List—A

Serial No.	Title	Name	Gōtra
1	*Vājapēyayājin*	Sūryyaka(kṛi)shṇa-śarmman	Bhāradvāja
2	*Sarvajña*	Anantakaṇṭha-śarmman	Do.
3	*Jautisha*	Kapilakaṇṭha-śarmman	Do.
4	*Paṇḍita*	Śrīdhara-śarmman	Do.
5	*Pāṭhi*	Āgamadhara-śarmman	Do.
6	[*Pāṭhi*]	Siddhēśvara-śarmman	Do

[1] For a detailed discussion on this aspect see *ibid*.

[2] This term may be taken as the name of a village also.

Serial No.	Title	Name	Gōtra
7	*Paṇḍita*	Gōvinda-śarmman	Do.
8	*Pāṭhi*	Arjuna-śarmman	Do.
9	*Jautisha*	Rudrakara(kumāra?)-śarmman	Vatsa
10	Do.	Vāsudēva-śarmman	Do.
11	*Pāṭhi*	Sabhāpati-śarmman	Do.
12	Do.	Bṛihaspati-śarmman	Do.
13	Do.	Ananta-śarmman	Do.
14	Do.	Uddāi-śarmman	Do.
15	Do.	[.]la	Do.
16	Do.	Jagannātha-śarmman	Do.
17	*Parṇṇata(Paṇḍita ?)*	Mṛityuñjaya	Do.
18	*Pāṭhin*	Viśvēśvara	Māṇḍavya

The persons in the second list (lines 133-36) are stated to be share-holders of house-sites (*gṛihāṅgaṇa-bhāginaḥ*). They are as follows :

List—B

Serial No.	Title	Name
1	*Paṇḍita*	Mṛityuñjaya
2	Nil	Madhu
3	Do.	Lōkadhara
4	Do.	Vidyādhāra
5	Do.	Hadaprakara
6	Do.	Ga[d]ādhara
7	Do.	M....ra[ka]
8	Do.	..dhava
9	Do.	Chakradhara
10	Do.	Jāvanara
11	Do.	Lōkāyī
12	Do.	Sūrjjāyī
13	Do.	Gōvinda-haru
14	*Pāṇigrāhi*	Chaṇḍa. chchha
15	Nil	..ra.ri
16	Do.	....pāla
17	Do.	Madhusōdhana(sūdana)
18	Do.	Ga[d]ādhara

Serial No.	Title	Name
19	*Paṇḍita*	Viśvēśvara
20	*Sēnāpati Rājapradhāni*	Vidyākara
21	Nil	Mādhava
22	Do.	.dhakar..
23	Do.	....
24	*Pāṭhin*	Sannu
25	Do.	Purī

The third list (lines 137-46) contains the names of *Paṇḍitas* and *Vēdavidāḥ* with their share of land in *vāṭīs*.[1]

List—C

Serial No.	Name	Gōtra	Vāṭi
1	*Jyōtisha* Rudrakara-śarmman	Vatsa	1-1/2
2	Gaṅgāla-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
3	Bṛihaspati-śarmman	Do.	1
4	...vara-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
5	Yajña-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
6	Janārddana-śarmman	Do.	1
7	Ananta-śarmman	Bhāradvāja	..
8	Vidyākara-śarmman	Do.	5
9	Śrīdhara-śarmman	Do.	2
10	Dharaṇidhara-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
11	Gadādhara-śarmman	Do.	2
12	Sarvadhara-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
13	Ābharaṇa-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
14	Vishṇu-śarmman	Do.	1
15	Kāmadēva-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
16	Madhusōdhana(sūdana)-śarmman	Do.	1
17	Mādhava-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
18	Mēdī-śarmman	Do.	1
19	Uddāi-śarmman	Do.	2
20	Mayadhara-śarmman	Do.	2
21	Dhṛitikara śarmman	Do.	1
22	Sujāi-śarmman	Do.	1

[1] For a discussion on the extent of a *vāṭī*, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 245 and notes.

Serial No.	Name	Gōtra	Vāṭī
23	Bhāṇakara-śarmman	Bhāradvāja	1/2
24	Mādhava-śarmman	Do.	1/2
25	Ugra-śarmman	Do.	1
26	Viśvēśvara-śarmman	Māṇḍavya	1
27	Rāmadēva-śarmman	Do.	3-1/2
28	Mṛityuñjaya-śarmman	Do.	2
29	Vāsudēva-śarmman	Kāśyapa	1
30	Sūryyakara-śarmman	Do.	1
31	Nārāyaṇa-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2

The fourth and the last list consists of the names of some temples, institutions and officials, with their share in *vāṭīs*.

List—D

Serial No.	Name	Vāṭī
1	(God) Paramēśvara of the Vēda-Vyākaraṇa-maṭha	1
2	(God) Balabhadra	1/2
3	*Daṇḍapāśika*	2
4	Paṭuvāḍapāṭaka-Tridēva	8
5	*Śāsanādhikārin* Tallar-āryyaḥ (of Pūtimāsha-gōtra)	2
6	Vēda-maṭha	9 (items 6–8)
7	Purāṇa-maṭha	
8	Vyākaraṇa-maṭha	
9	Bṛihadvṛiddha-maṭha	1
10	*Tāmbrakāra* Lōkāyī	1
11	*Daṇḍapāśika*	4

The lists tabulated above show that among the recipients of the gift, there were three deities. One of them is stated to be **Tridēva** of the village Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka. This deity probably represented the Hindu trinity, viz. **Brahmā, Vishṇu** and **Mahēśvara.** It may be mentioned in this connection that we know of inscriptions, mostly from places in the Deccan, belonging to the period to which our record belongs and to earlier periods, referring to gifts made to the deity named **Traipurushadēva.**[1] Apparently, Tridēva of our record is a variant of the latter name. It is also interesting that there was a temple to **Balabhadra** in the village, as temples to this deity are rare.

Apart from the gifts to the deities, gifts of land are stated to have been made to a *maṭha* each for Vēda, Purāṇa and Vyākaraṇa. The existence of these educational institutions and the fact that gifts were made to them by the king obviously reveal the care with which these studies were fostered then under royal patronage.

[1] *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65, Introduction, p. 11.

Among the individuals who figure as donees, a majority were *Pāṭhis*, i.e., those who had mastered the Vēdas by rote. This is as it should be because the study of the Vēdas appears to have been very much encouraged then, as is known from the existence of institutions for the purpose as mentioned above. Other donees included a *Vājapēyin*, a *Sarvajña*, three *Jautishakas* and a few *Paṇḍitas*. Some officials too were given each some plots of land. They were the *Sēnāpati Rājapradhāni* Vidyākara, two *daṇḍapāśikas* whose names are not mentioned and the *Śāsanādhikārin*. Tallar-āryya of the Pūtimāsha-gōtra. The artisan *tāmrakāra* Lōkāika or Lōkāyi was also a donee. Of these, that the post of *Śāsanādhikārin* was held by members belonging to the Pūtimāsha-gōtra is known not only from the Nagarī plates[1] but also from the later records of this dynasty. The *Śāsanādhikārin* Tallara or Tallapa is represented as the composer of the *praśasti*. In another record of this period also a *Śāsanādhikārin* figures as its composer.[2] In the Nagarī plates, however, the writer of the record is stated to be one Appana (not Vappana),[3] who was different from the *Śāsanādhikārin* figuring in that record. It is interesting to note that both Appana and Tallara or Tallapa are credited with the composition of the same verses in the respective charters. Dr. D. C. Sircar, while editing the Nagarī plates, has stated "Appana copied the verses relating to the predecessors of Anaṅgabhīma III from an earlier record and composed only the verses describing the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III himself."[4] But it is clear from our record that the entire *praśasti* including the description of Anaṅgabhīma III was copied by both Appana and Tallara or Tallapa from a draft already available to them and their laying claim to the composition of the *praśasti* by themselves is, therefore, not true. The contribution of these two persons to the respective records seems to consist only of the texts of the grant portions of these records.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, **Śrī-Purushōttama-kshētra** is the well-known Purī and **Rāvaṅga-vishaya** is apparently identical with the territorial division of the same name occurring in the Purī plates of Bhānu II[5] as well as in the Alagum inscription[6] of Anantavarmman Chōḍagaṅga and the Siddheswar inscription[7] of Narasiṁha IV. The identification of the other places mentioned viz., **Kōṭarāvaṅga-vishaya, Sagaḍāvadhi-khaṇḍa, Tippariāamvilō, Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka, Rālaguñcha-vishaya** and the village **Khambhāra,** however, is not certain.

TEXT[8]

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40, 41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 66 *Sragdharā* ; verses 7, 23, 49, 65 *Mālinī* ; verses 8, 13, 34, 38-39, 44-46, 51, 59, 68, 75, 79-80 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 12, 16, 18-19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62-63, 69-71, 77, 81-88 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 14, 17, 35, 72 *Upajāti* ; verse 47 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[9] [||*] Lakshmī-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam=adaḥ śrēyānsi[10] dāsīshṭha(shṭa) vaḥ prasphūrjjan-nakha-raśmi-kēsara-śataṁ bhāsvan-nakh-ālī-dalaṁ(lam) | vi-

[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 246.

[2] *JASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1896, Part I, p. 256.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 247, 258, and text line 156.

[4] Ibid., p. 247.

[5] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 24.

[6] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 47.

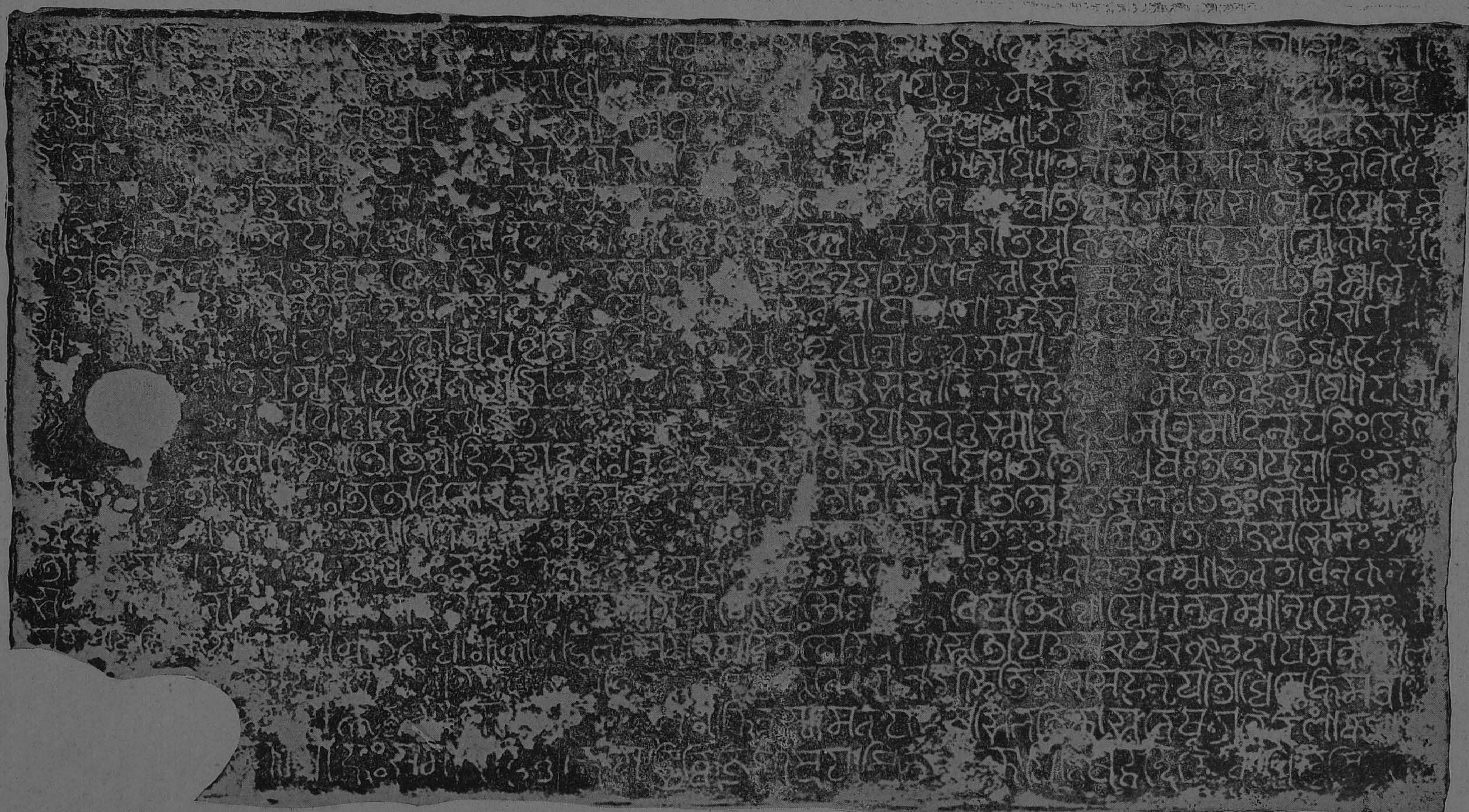
[7] Ibid., p. 108.

[8] From impressions.

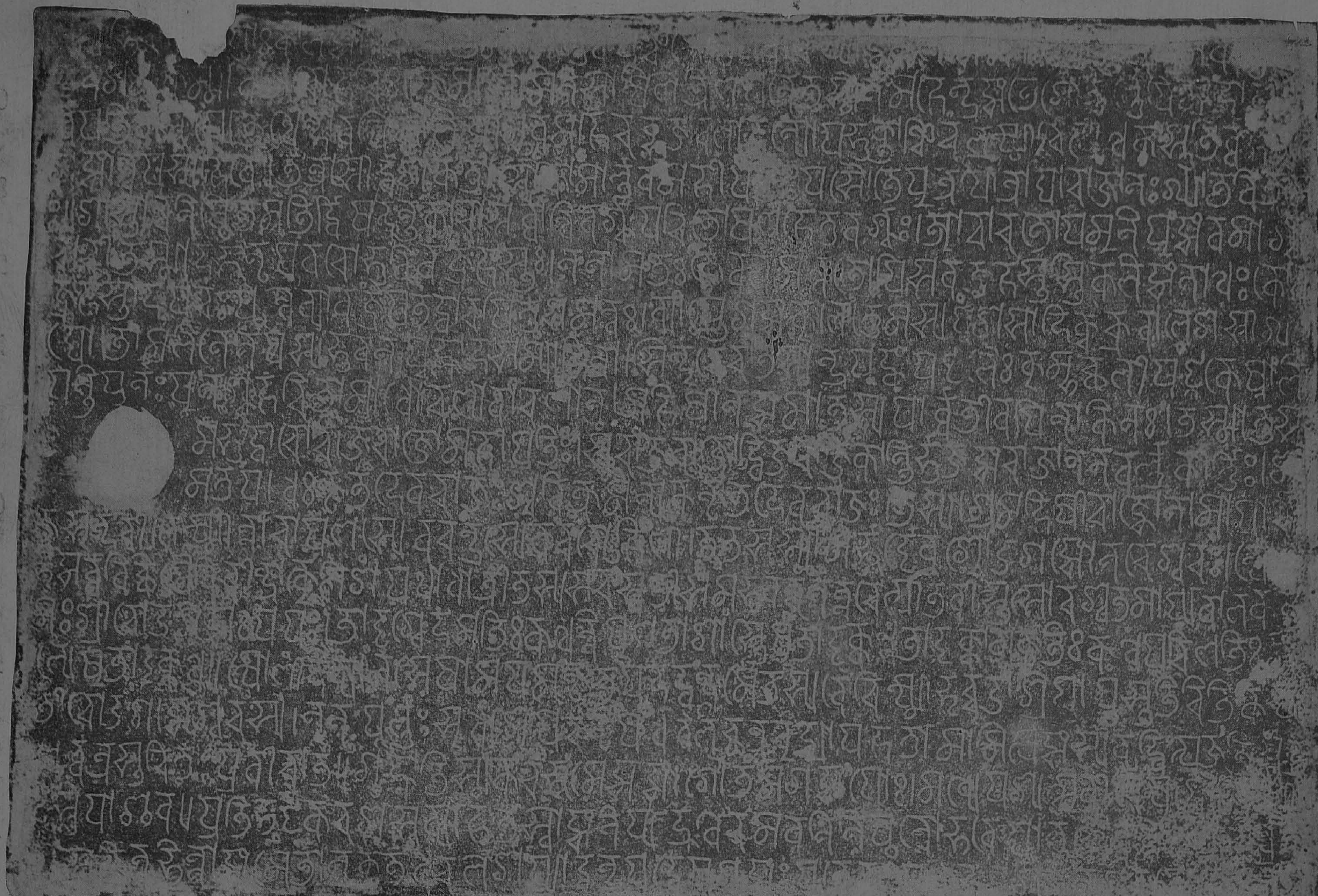
[9] Expressed by symbol.

[10] Read *śrēyāṁsi*.

i



ii, a



Scale : Three-fifths

2 spashṭa[m*]=prativi(bi)mvi(mbi)ta[ḥ*] praṇamanaiḥ krīḍ-aparādh-ōdbhavaiḥ Krishṇō yan-nakha-dīptishu bhramaratān=dhattē sa Lakshmī-priyaḥ || [1*] Kshīr-ā-

3 vdhē(bdhē)r=mmathitāt=sur-āsura-gaṇaiḥ prādurbhavantī Ramā Śambhu-Vra(Bra)hma-Purandara-prabhṛi[ti]shu prakhyāta-kīrttishv=api | paśyatsv=Amva(mbu)janābham=Ī-

4 śam=avṛiṇōl=lōka-tray-āhlādina[ṁ*] bhṛi[ṅg-ā]lī sahakāram=ēti [hi] vanē phu[l*]l-ānya[1]-śākhiny=api || [2*] Tan-nābhī-sarasīruh-ōdbhava-Vidhēr=A[trē]-[2]

5 rvvi(r=bba)bhūv=āmutaś=Chandraś=chandrikayā prakāśita-jagat=sambhūtavān=nētrataḥ | [trai]-lō[kya-grasa]n-ai[ka-da]ksha-timira-grāsitva-sāmyē=pi yō lakshma-

6 vyāji dadhat=tamaḥ prativapuḥ sū[r*]yy-ādhikō nirmmalaḥ || [3*] Śrīdēvī-sōdaratvād=amṛita-sakhatayā kalpa-vṛiksh-ānujatvāl=lōk-ānandaṁ vi-

7 dhātā timira-visha-haraḥ sarvva-dēv-aikabhōgyaḥ | tat-tat-saṁsargga-[lā]bhā[t*] tad-anugata-guṇakaṁ[3] svāṅga-nishṭhan=dadhāna[ḥ*] svasy=aitan=nirmmalatva[ṁ*] ja-

8 gati vijaya[tē] darśayan=nūnam-induḥ | [|4*] Vaṅsē(Vaṁśē) tasya nṛip-ēśva[rā]ḥ sama-bhavan=tēshā[ṅ=gu]ṇāchcha(ṇāś=chha)ndasaḥ prōtphullā iva yat-purāṇa-patha-

9 gās=tatr=āpi nō sammatāḥ | tat-tat-kārya-pathē śritās=tri-bhuvanē mūrttin=dadhānā iva bhrāmyant=īva sa-chētanāḥ śruti-gṛihē viśra-

10 mya viśramya cha |[|5*] Pratyēkaṁ śasi(śi)-vaṅsa(vaṁśa)-bhūpati-bhuja-vyāpāra-sai kīr-ttanaṁ karttuṅ=kaḥ kshamahatē[4] va(ba)humukhō yatr=Ā-

11 rjunasy=aiva hi | dōrddaṇḍ-ārjjita-kīrtti-varṇṇana-paraṁ tad-bhāratam prābhavat=tasmād=āhvaya-mātram=ādi-nṛipatiḥ-śrēṇi[ḥ][5]

12 kramāli(l=li)khyatē | [|6*] Tathā hi Chandrād=Vu(Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)dhāt=Purūravaḥ | tasmād=Āyuḥ [|*] tatō Naghu(hu)shaḥ [|*] tatō Yayātiḥ [| *] tata-

13 s=Turvvasu[ḥ] [|*] tatō Gāṅgēyaḥ | tatō Virōchanaḥ | tat-sutaḥ Saṁvēdyaḥ | [ta]tō Bhāsvān | tatō Dattasēnaḥ | tataḥ Saumyaḥ | tatō=

14 śvadattaḥ | tataḥ Saurāṁgaḥ [|*] tasmārvvi(d=Vi)chitrāṅgadaḥ | tat-sūnuḥ Sāradhvajaḥ[6]| tatō Dharmm[ai*]shī | tataḥ Parīkshit | tatō Jayasēnaḥ | tat-su-

15 tō=p[i] Jayasēnaḥ | tatō Vṛishadhvajaḥ [|*] tataḥ Śaktiḥ [|*] tataḥ Pragal[ta]ḥ[7]| tataḥ Kōlāhalaḥ [|*] sa ēv=Ānantavarmm=ābhavat | Dhara-kanaka-

16 samṛiddhō Gaṅgavā[di*]-prasiddhaḥ sakala-vishaya-bhūpa(ta)[ḥ*] svargga[8]-varggōpa-bhōgaḥ [|*] tad-adhipatir=ath=ādyō=nantavarmmā nṛipēndraḥ sa-

17 mabhavad=iti rūḍhā Gaṅga-nāmnā tad-ādyāḥ |[|7*] Kōlāhalaḥ samara-mūrddhni tatō nṛipāṇāṁ bhūtō yata[ḥ*] Sarapurañ=cha tadīyam=atra[|*] Kōlā-

18 [hal-āhvayam=abhūt=su][9]ra-sadma-tulyam tasmin kramēṇa patibhirvva(r=bba)hubhirvvu(r=bba)bhūvē |[|8*] Rājya-śrībhṛiti Mārasi[ṁ*]ha-nṛipatau jyēshṭhē kim=atr=āsma-

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[1] The Nagarī plates read *phullē=nya* here (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 249, text line 4).

[2] The same plates read *Atrēr=* here (ibid., text line 5).

[3] Read *guṇam* for the sake of the metre.

[4] Read *kshamatē kshitau,* as in the same Nagarī plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 249, text line 11).

[5] Read *nṛipati-śrēṇiḥ.*

[6] In the epic and *purāṇas,* Sīradhvaja is a famous name.

[7] Read *Pragalbhaḥ.*

[8] In the above referred to Nagarī plates *svarggi°* is found (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 250, text line 17)

[9] This passage within brackets must have been engraved on the chip here, which has been broken and is lost.

19 [hē dōr-ddaṇḍ-ārjjita][1]-bhūtal-ōtthita-Ramā-kaṇṭha-[grah-ā]ṇandinaḥ | kinv=asyā-mavaya[2] bhuj-āsi-latikā saṁvēshṭitā[ṁ*] vairiṇāṁ kaṇṭh-āra-

20 [ṇyam=iyañ=cha kīrtti-la][1][ti]kā dyāṅ=naḥ samārōhatu |[|9*] Bhrāmyadbhir=vvijigīshayā kshiti[talē] k[v]=āpi dvishad-vanditaiḥ kv=āpi dvēshi-kula-pra-

Second Plate, First Side

21 māthibhir=a[pi prā][3]ptāḥ Kaliṅgāḥ kila | taiḥ Kāmārṇṇava-pañchamair=nṛipa-varair=yuddha[ṁ] Kaliṅgaiḥ samaṁ prāp[taṁ dra]shṭum=iv=ārṇṇvā-

22 d=udagamat=kūrmm-āvatārō Hariḥ || [10*] Kūrmma-svāmini sākshiṇi Triṇayanē tasmin Mahēndraṅ=gatē Gōkarṇṇē=pi Mahōdadhau

23 viyati vā sūryyē tath=ēndāv=api [|*] Kāliṅgīm=bhuvam=āharad=bhuja-va(ba)lād=any-ōpabhuktāñ=chiraṁ Lakshmī[ñ]=ch=ēty=atha kā stutir=vvada tahē(tō)

24 Gaṅg-ānvayasy=āhavē || [11*] Tatr=āsīd=vaṁśa-kartt=āsau Kāmārṇṇava-mahīpa[ti]ḥ[|*] yasy=aitē putra-pautr-ādyā rājānaḥ khyāta-vikramā-

25 ḥ ||[12*] Śāstr-ārtha-nishṭhita-matir=dvishad-anta-kārī sarvv-ārthi-vargga-paritōshaṇa-hētu-varggaḥ | āchāratō=p[i*] muni-puṅgava-mārgga-

26 chārī tasmād=abhū[n*]=nṛipa-varō bhuvi **Vajrahastaḥ** |[|13*] Na nāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=pi sa Vajrahastas=**Trikaliṅga**-nāthaḥ [|] kō **Va**-

27 jrahastād=aparaḥ pṛithivyā[ṁ*] vajraṁ patad=vārayitu[ṁ*] samarthaḥ |[|14*] Vyāpte Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē śasī(śi)-pra(prā)-[4]

28 yēṇat(yēṇ=)[5]āmalinēna yasya bhuvana-prahlāda-sampādinā[6] | sindūrair=ati-sāndra-paṅka-paṭalaiḥ kumbha-sthalī-paṭṭakēshv=āliṁ-

29 panti punaḥ punaś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān |[|15*] Mahishī Naṅgamā tasya Pārvvat=īva Pinākinaḥ | tasmāt=tasyā-

30 m=abhūd=vīrō **Rājarājō** mahīpatiḥ |[|16*] Sa Rājarājō dvijarāja-kāntir=bhujaṅga-rāj-ānana-varṇṇa[7]-kīrttiḥ | śrī-

31 mattay=ādhaḥkṛita-dēvarājaḥ[8] śva(sva)-vikrama-nyak-kṛita-dēvarājaḥ | [|17*] Tasy=āgra-mahishī rājñō nāmnā yā Rā-

32 jasundarī | Lakshmīr=Nnārāyaṇasy=ēva Chandrasy=ēva cha Rōhiṇī |[|18*] Tatas=tasyām=abhūd[9]=dēvaś=**Chōḍagaṅgō** narēśvaraḥ | kshōṇī-

33 bhṛid-garvva-vichchhityau(ttau) div=īndrāt=kuliśaṁ yathā [||19*] Dhātrī tasya Sarasvatī-samabhavan=nūnan=na chēt=pītavāns=tat-sāraśva(sva)tam=āryya-va(bā)laka-ta-

34 maḥ śrī-Chōḍagaṅgaḥ payaḥ | tādṛig=vēdamatiḥ kathan=nipuṇatā śāstrēshu tādṛik=kathaṁ tādṛik=kāvya-kṛitiḥ kathaṁ pariṇatiḥ [śi]-

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[1] This passage within brackets must have been engraved on the chip here, which has been broken and is lost.

[2] Read *kiñ=ch=āsmākam=iyaṁ* as in the Nagarī plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 250, text line 20).

[3] The bit where these two letters in brackets must have been engraved has been broken and is missing.

[4] There is an unnecessary curve to the left and the top *mātrā* is absent.

[5] In the case of *yēṇa* the two syllables appear to be dovetailed and are followed by an unnecessary *ta*. The intended reading is obviously *prāyēṇ=ā°* as in the Nagarī plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 250, text line 28).

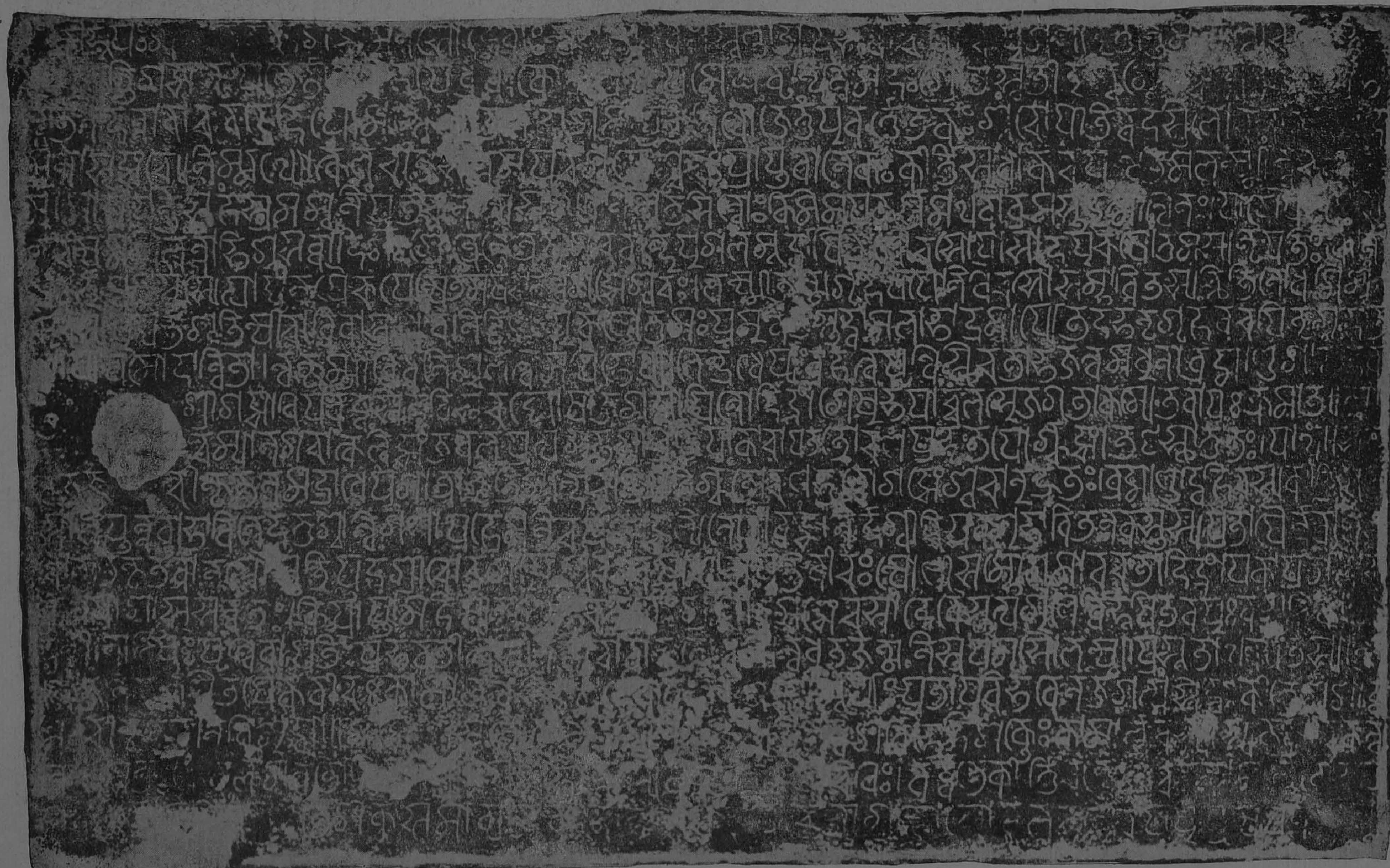
[6] First the letter *hi* was engraved and it was subsequently converted into *di*.

[7] The scribe has attempted to write *varaṇya* (cf. ibid., p. 251, text line 31).

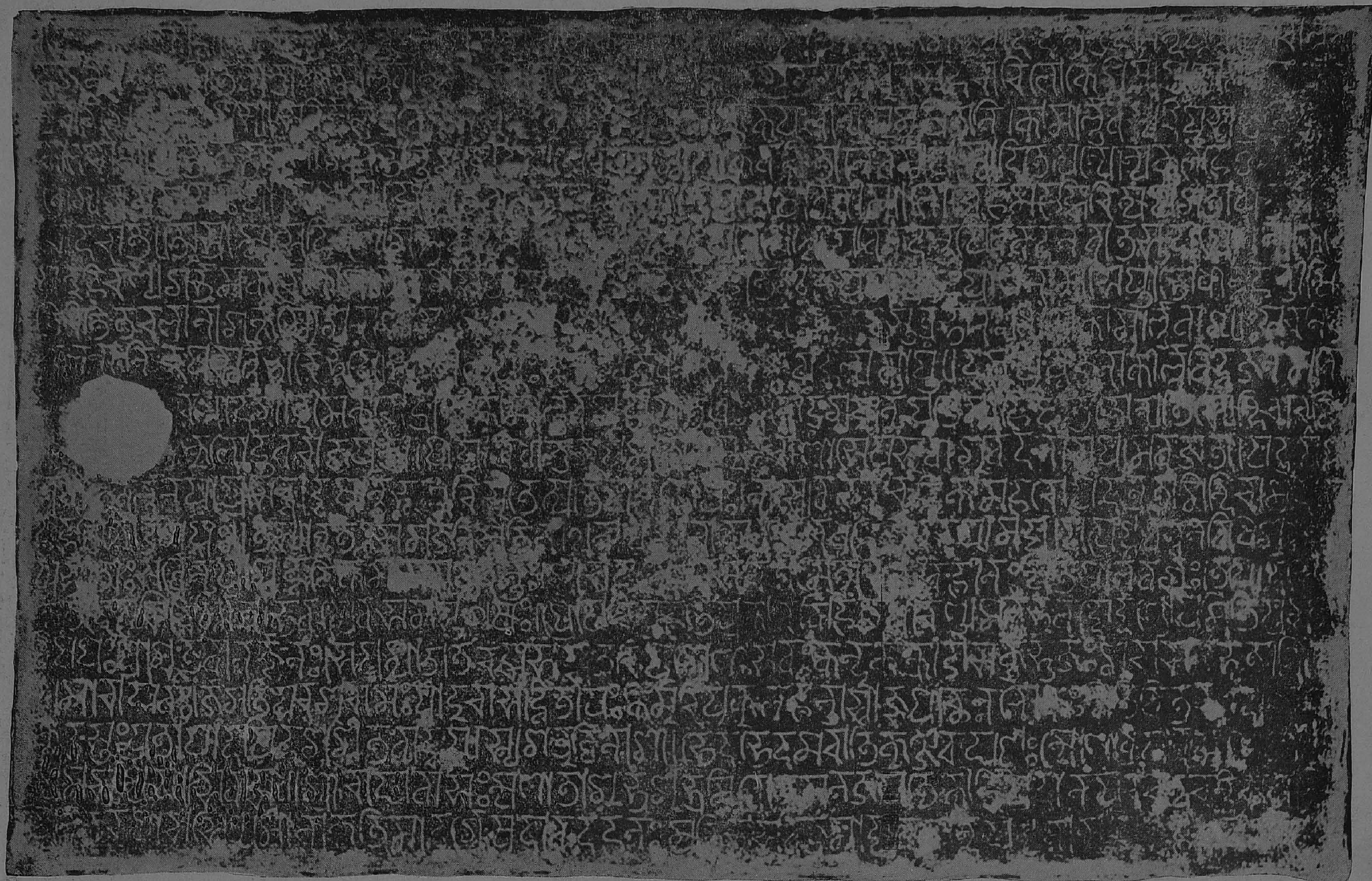
[8] The Nagarī plates read *°rājarājaḥ* here, which is better suited to the context (see ibid., text line 31).

[9] An unnecessary *rēpha* stroke is seen on top of this *akshara*.

ii, b



iii, a



Scale : Three-fifths

35 lpēshu tādṛik=katha[m*]|| [20*] Kshōṇīṁ dikpāla-sē(śē)shām=ayam=akṛita pada-dvandvam=ētasya vairi-kshmā-bhṛich-chūḍā-śriy=āptaṁ stutir=iti kiya-

36 tī Chōdagaṅgēśvarasya | nūna[ṁ*] pūrṇṇaḥ sudhāṁśu[ḥ*] para-nṛipa-dhavala-chchhatra-vu(bu)ddhy=āpahart̤tā mām=ity=aṅgasya vṛiddhiṁ tyajati yata

37 ivva(va) trasta-chittaḥ pravīrāta(t) || [21*] Gṛihṇāti sma kara[ṁ] bhūmē[r*]=ṅga(**Ga**)**ṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōḥ** | madhyē paśyatsu vī[rē]shu prau[ḍhaḥ] prau-

38 ḍha-striyā iva|| [22*] Prati-bhaṭa-kara-śastra-vyāhata-sv-āṅga-niryyad-rudhiram=avani-nishṭhan=nō bhavēd=yān=taḍ-ēva (yat=tad=aiva) [| *] nijakara-dhṛita-

39 śastra-chchhinna-bhinn-āṅgam=ētān=akṛita dharaṇi-śaryyā(yyā)[n*]=dvandva-yuddhēshu Gaṅgaḥ [|| 23*] Yat-tējaḥ-paribhūta-śatru-nagara-[prōdbhūta-dhūm-ō]-

Second Plate, Second Side

40 dgamair=bhūyaḥ Khāṇḍava-dāha-śaṅki-manasō dēvāḥ kshaṇaṁ bhīravaḥ | svar-ṇṇī(r=nī)-tād=asidhārayā ripu-gaṇād=vṛittāntam=ākarṇṇya cha [prauḍhin]=ta-

41 sya nuvanti Gaṅga-nṛipatēr=[bhītiṁ vi]hāya dhruvaṁ(vam) | [| 24*] Krōdh-ōdyad-dvipa-mēgha-vṛindini madaḥ(da)-śrō(srō)tasvatī-durggamē chañchat-khaḍga-[taḍit]-prabhā-

42 [va]ti nadan-nārācha-vajr-ōdayē | ma(ya)t-sa[inyē] jalad-āgama-pratinidhau jētuṁ pravarttēta kaḥ śūrō=pā(p=ī)ti vadaṁs=Ti(Tri)lōchana-vibhurvva(r=bba)ddhō=

43 munā saṅgarē || [25*] Nirmmathy=**Ōtkala**-rāja-[sindhum]=aparaṁ Gaṅgēśvaraḥ prāptavān=ēkaḥ kīrtti-sudhākaraṁ pṛithutama[ṁ*] Lakshmiṁn(mīn)=dhara[ṇyā sa]-

44 maṁ(mam) |, mādya[d*]-danti-sahaṁ(ha)sram=aśva-niyuta[ṁ] ratnāny=asa[ṁ]khyāni mā(vā) tta(tat)-sindhōḥ kim=imaṁ prakarsham=aṁtha(atha) vā vrū(brū)mas=tad-unmāthinaḥ | [| 26*] Pādau yasya [dha]r-ā-

45 ntarī(ri)ksham=akhilan=nābhiś=cha sarvvā diśaḥ śrōtrē nētra-yuga[ṁ] rav-īndu-yugala[ṁ] mūrddh=āpi [vā dyau]r=asau [| *] prāsādaṁ Purushōttamasya nṛipatiḥ kō nā-

46 ma karttu[ṁ] kshamas=tasy=ēty=ādya-nṛipair=upēkshitam=ayaṁ chakrē=tha Gaṅgēśvaraḥ | [| 27*] Lakshmī-janma-gṛiha[ṁ*] payō-nidhir=asau sambhāvitasya sthitir=nō dhami[1] śva-

47 su(śu)rasya pūdya(jya)ta iti kshīr-āvdhi(bdhi)-vāsā[d*] dhruva[ṁ] | nirvi[ṇṇaḥ] Purushōttamaḥ pramudi[tas]=tad-dhāma-lābhād=Ram=āpy=ētad=bha[r*]tṛi-gṛihaṁ varaṁ pitṛis gṛihāt

48 prāpya pramōd-ānvitā | [| 28*] Tvaṅ=kūrmm-ādhipha(pa) niśchalatvam-api bhō vyālēndra-dhē(dhai)ryyaṁ vaha tvaṁ pṛithi (thvī)-sthiratā[ṁ] bhaja tvam=adhunā vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-gāḍhaṁ bhava [| *]

49 śrī-Gaṅg-ādhipa-va(ba)ddha-si[ṁ]ha-visarad-ghōshāj-jagad-vyāpirō diṅ-nāgēshu bhayāch=chalatsu jagatā(tī) kampēta vā yaḥ ka(kra)māta(māt)|| [29*] **A-**

50 **ramyā-nagarāt**-Kaliṁgaja-va(ba)la-pratyagra-bhagn-āvṛiti-prākār-āyata-tōraṇaṅ (ṇa)-prabhṛitayōr[2] Gaṅgā-taṭasthāt=tataḥ | Pārthāṁs(rth-ās)trair=[yyu]-

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[1] Read *dhāmni*.

[2] Read *prabhṛititō*.

51 dhi jajja(rjja)rīkṛita-namad-Rādhēya-gātrākṛitir=Mmā(Ma)**ndār-ādri**-patir=ggatō raṇa-bhuvō Gaṅg-ēsvar-ānudrutaḥ [|[| 30*] Vra(Bra)hmāṇḍād=va(ba)hir=asya kītti(rtti)-ya[śa]-

52 sā [li]ptan=na vā bhāvinē dattas=ch=ārthi-gaṇāya hēma-nichaya[ḥ] saṅkalpinō [vā] va(ba)hu nirddagdh-āri-pavaśu[1] bhāvita-navas=tasya pratāpair=nna vā ki-

53 n=nō vāti[2] kṛitavān=asau stuti-padaṁ śrī-Chōḍagaṅg-ēśvaraḥ |[|31*] Varshāṇām saptati[ṁ] vīraḥ kshōṇī-sambhōgam=ācharata(t) | diṅ-nāyakā[n] pratīhārā-

54 n-vidhā[y]=āśāsu sarvvataḥ ||[|32*] Ki[ṁ] prāptā mahishī tapōbhir=atulaiḥ śrī-Chōḍagaṅ-gēra(na) sā dēvai= stutya-guṇēr(ṇair)=vvibhūshita-vapuḥ kastūrikāmō-

55 dinī | n=ā-Vishṇuḥ pṛithviva(thivī)patiḥ prabhavat=īty=asmina(smin) Haiau vā bhuvō raksh-ārtha[n*]=dhṛita-janmani svayam=asau Lakshmī[ḥ*] prasūt=ātha vā |[|33*] Tasyān=ta-

56 tō=jani jagat-tritay-aika-vīraḥ **Kāmārṇṇavas**=[tri-jaga]d-ēka-[vadānya ē]shaḥ | sūryyaḥ pratāpa-vibhavēna jagat-prasiddhaḥ kīrttiś=śaśāṅka-

57 m=adharīkṛitavāna(n) viśuddhyā ||[34*] Gaṅgēśa-sūnōr=[vvivu(bu)dh-āśrayasya dṛipya]-[d*]-dvishad-vaṁśa-vibhēdi-śaktēḥ [|*] Kāmārṇṇavasy=āsya Kumārakatvaṁ

58 na nāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=[p]i ||[35*] [Prāpy=ōdayaṁ śa]sā(śā)ṅkasya varddhat[aṁ] nāma vāridhiḥ | varddhatē kīrtti-chandrō=[yaṁ] chitraṁ=Kāmārṇṇav-ōdayē ||[36*]

59 **Nand-arttu-vyōma-[viśva]**[3]**-pramita-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē [dinē]śē chāpa-[sthē]**=nya-grah-aughē va(ba)lavati ripushu prakshayaṁ prāpta-

Third Plate, First Side

60 vatsu | asmin=mūr]ddh-ābhi[shiktē nṛipavara-tana]yē sarvva-lōk-aika-nāthē śrīmat-Kāmār-ṇṇavēśē] | jagad=abhavad=idaṁ tat-tad-ānanda-pūrṇṇaṁ(rṇṇam) ||[37*] Kshīr-ārṇṇavā-

61 d=ajani [chan]dra-kal=ēti vārttā Kāmārṇṇavāt=tu [sakal-ēndu-]di[vākar]-ābhaṁ [|*] kīrtti-pratāpa-mithunaṁ sahachāri lōkē śishyaty=ahō para-nṛipān=a-

62 nurāga-śū[nyān||] [38*] Yasy=āsi-nirddalita-vai[ri-karīndra-kumbha-nirmukta]-mauktika-phalāny=asṛig-ukshitānī | Kāmārṇṇavasya ripu-saṁhati-[hētv]=a-

63 kāla(lē) sandhyā-prabhāta-bha-gaṇā iva bhānti [yu]ddhē |[|39*] Dṛipyad-vairi-cham-ūr-mmayā kavalitān=aivaṁ=mma(ma)y=āsvādit=ēty=anyōnyaṁ=kalahē tu [nirṇṇaya-vi]-

64 dhau khaḍga-pratāp-ē[chchha]yā | mādhyasthaṁ=gamit=ēva ni[rmmalatarā] kīrttir=yyadī-shā(yā) vra(bra)vīmy=ālōchchē(chy)= ēha mahadbhir=ity=[u*]pagatā Dhātu[ḥ*] [śrutī]

65 chā(v=ā)darāta(t) ||[40*] Asrākshīt=sa hiraṇya-garbham=apa[rē lōkē mahē]śaḥ pur=ēty=arthō=ya[ṁ] vivadanti yē cha vadana-vrātas=tadīyō=dhunā | ruddhō

66 sha(ya)t=tu hiraṇya-garbham=akarōt=Kāmārṇṇavēśas=tataḥ sa[ṁ]pa[nnaṁ] janitaṁ [jaga]d=yata iha pratyakshataḥ prāṇināṁ ||[41*] Sapt-ā[ṁ*]bhōdhīn=vahantī kshi-

67 tir=atitaralā nāga-kūrmm-ēśvarāṇā[ṁ] sā[hāyyaṁ] vāñchha[t=ī]yaṁ=tad=api punar=a]yaṁ= kalpitas=tatra bhāraḥ | dhātā Kāmārṇṇav-ākhyaḥ sa cha nija-

68 tulanā[ṁ*] nirjjayat=svarṇṇa-bhārair=bhūyō bhūyas=tulāyaḥ(yāṁ) sthita iti dha[raṇēr= bhāra]-vā(bā)hulyam=āptaṁ(ptam)||[42*] Hṛishṭa-pushṭa-jan-ākirṇṇa[ṁ*] vidva[j*]-jana-manō-

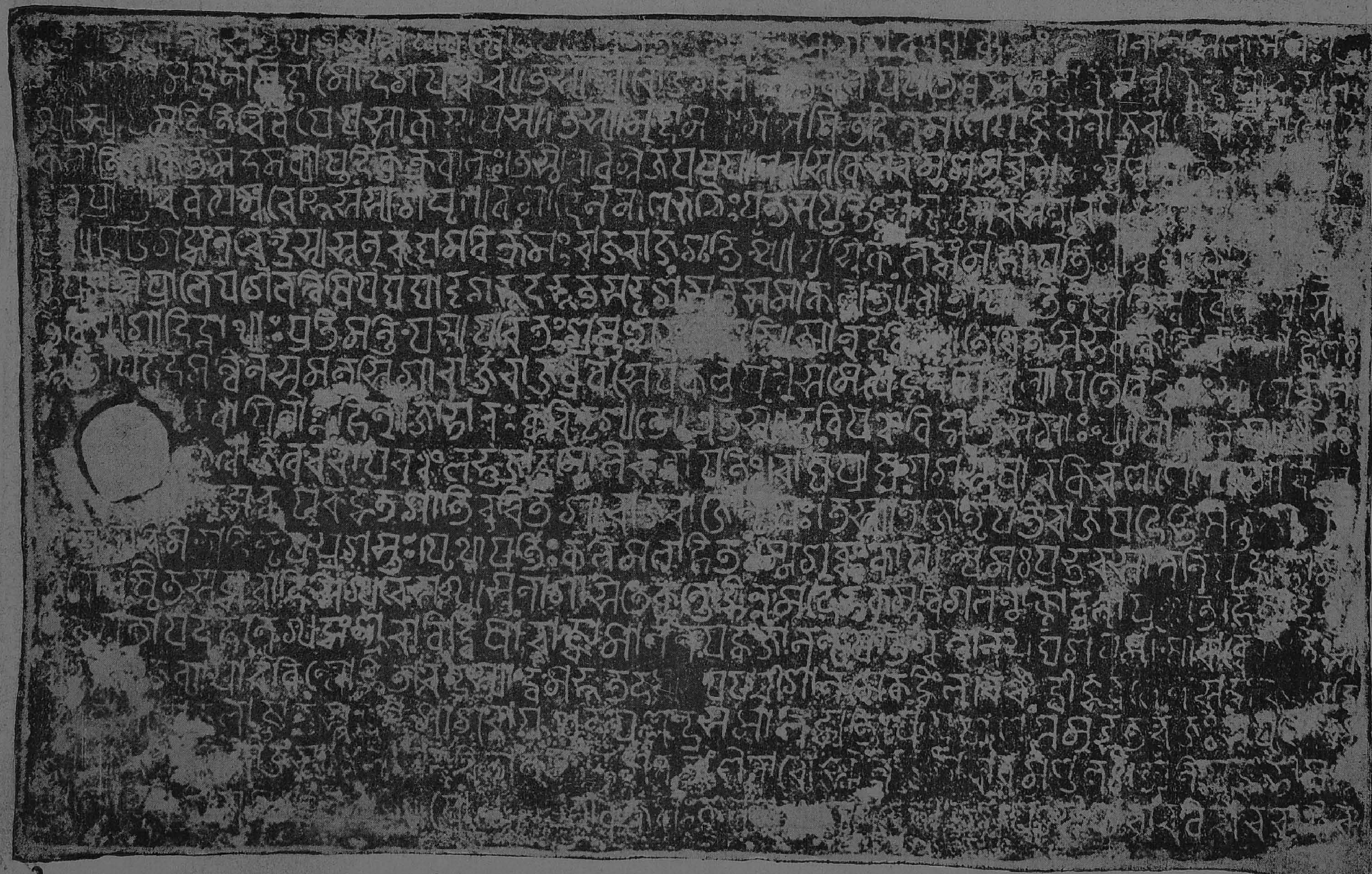
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[1] Read *puraś=cha*.

[2] The letter *ti* is redundant.

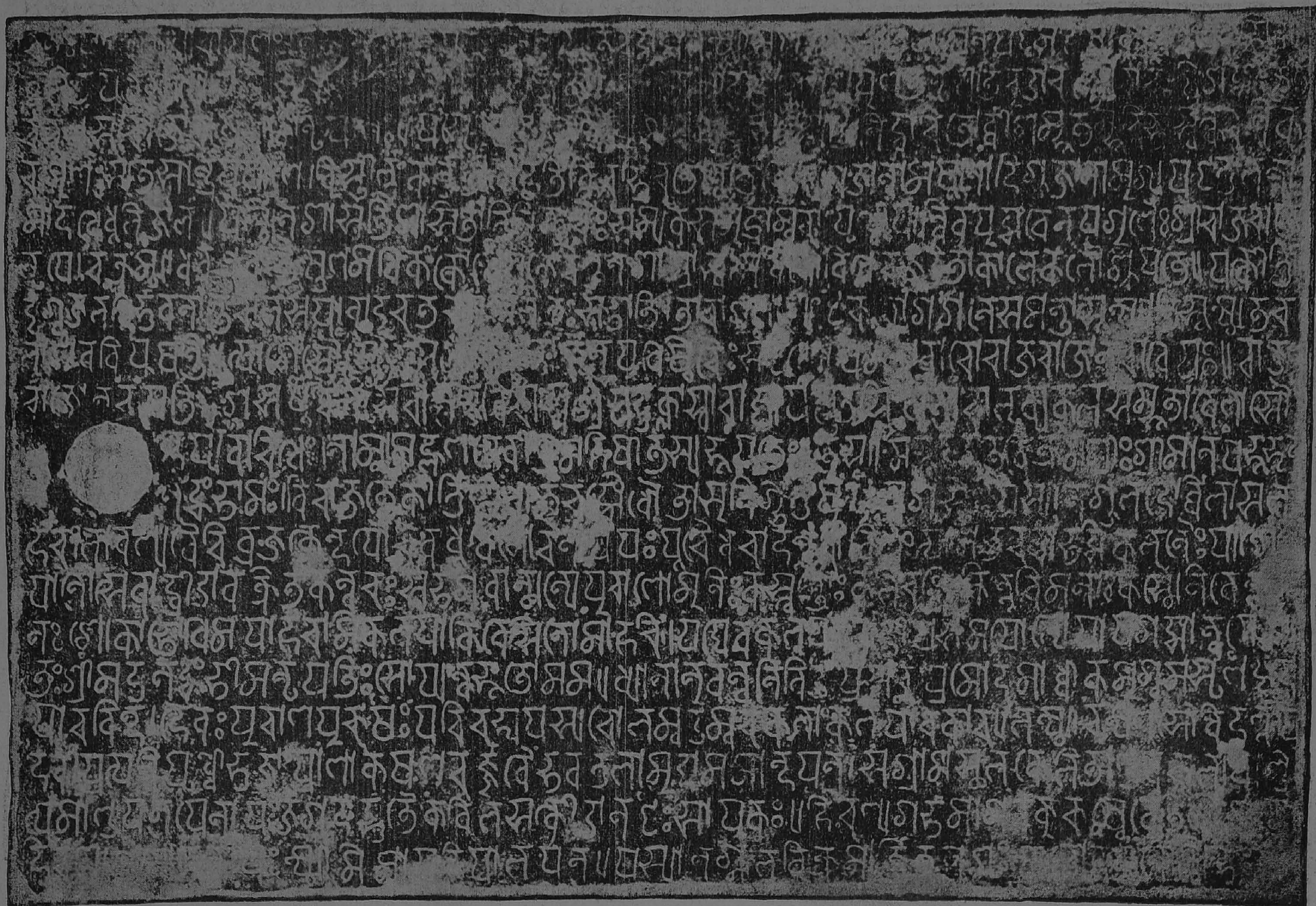
[3] The bit on which this word *viśva* was engraved has been broken and lost.

iii, b



G. S. Gai

iv, a



Scale : Three-fifths

69 rama[ṁ] | daś-āvdi(bdī)m=akarōd=rājyaṁ Kāmārṇṇava-mahīpatiḥ [|*] [43*] śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-nṛipatēr=mmahish[ā](shī) tatō=nyā tasy=Ēndirā Ravi-

70 kul-ōdbhava-rāja-putrī | y=ādy=āpi Dhātur=upam=ājani su[nda]rīṇāṁ s=ēyam sudhā[ṁ*]śu-vadanā s[va]yam=ēva jātā | [|44*] Yadru(d-rū)pa-śī-

71 la-gati-varṇṇanayā prasiddhā dṛishṭānta-bhū[r]=ggiri-sut=ēty=ativāda-dōshaḥ | n=āsty=ēva cha[ṇḍa]-ruchi-kāma-harō yad=anra(tra) tām=Indirām=udava-

72 had=bhuvi Chōḍagaṅgaḥ||[45*] Tasyān=tataḥ samajani kshitinātha-nātha[ḥ*] śrī-**Rāghava[ḥ]** para-dhanē[śvara]-darppa-marddī | yat-paṭṭava(ba)ndhana-vidhi-śravaṇa-

73 prabhītāḥ sarvvē nṛipā[ḥ*] śva(sva)-hṛidi kama(kam)pam=avāptavantaḥ | [|46*] Śrī-Rāghavē rājani chitram=ētat=tējō-vihīnaḥ kshitipāla-vargaḥ | tat-pāda-sēvā-

74 kṛita-dēha-siddhir=mitrībhavaty=ēva samasta ēshaḥ |[|47*] Prauḍh-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prāchaṇḍyam=antarbhavad=dōr-ddaṇḍ-ōpamiti-pragalbha-

75 vishayaḥ (ya)prā gbhūtavān=Arjjunaḥ | sa[ṁ*]praty=ātā(ha)ta-raṅga-saṅgata-ripu-śrēṇī-si(śi)va(ra)ḥ-kanduka-krīḍ-āsakta-bhujaḥ śarāsanabhṛitā[ṁ*] chitr-ō-

76 pamā Rāghavaḥ |[|48*][1]Jagati Paraśurāmaḥ prādhurāsī[d*] =dvitīyaḥ kimu ripu-kula-hantā sv-ājñay=āchchhanna-lōkaḥ [|*] kshiti-vitaraṇa-dīksh-āsa-

77 kta-hastaḥ pratāpād=api daśa-śata-vā(bā)hur=yyasya śatrur=vvināśī ||[49*] Bhēda[ṁ] bhēdam=arāti-kuñjara-ghaṭāḥ kshōṇīdhra-paranti[2] raṇē pāya[ṁ] pā-

78 yam=asṛik-payānsi (yāṁsi) va(ba)hudhā śrī-Rāghav-āsiḥ kshaṇāta(t) | śubhraṁ śubhram=iv=ōdvamana(n)=[vi*]jayatē kīrtti-pradānaṁ paraṁ chandra[ṁ] chandrikayā pra-

79 pūrṇṇatarayā sa[ṁ*]sēvyamān=ākṛitima(tim) |[|50*] Durggēshu dāva-dahanaḥ ksha-(kshi)tibhṛistu(tsu) vajra[ṁ*] mādyat-kar-īndra-ghaṭanāsu cha [siṁ]ha eshaḥ [|*] vi-[dvēshi]-

Third Plate, Second Side

80 bhūmipatayō nivasanti yatra śrī-Rāghava-kshitipatir=vvitata-pratāpaḥ ||[51*] Śrī-Rāghava-dharādhīśaḥ kshōṇī-nātha-śa(śi)rōmaṇiḥ | a-

81 karōd=rāmva(jya)m=avda(bdā)nām=uddāmō daśa pañcha cha ||[52*] Tasya śrī-Chōḍa-gaṅga-kshiti-valaya-patērvvaṅśa(r=vvaṁśa)-santāna-mallī-kandva(nda)-śrī-Chandralē-

82 khā sphuṭam=Aditir=iva prēyasā(sī) Kasya(śya)pasya | tasyām=uddāma-dhāma-kshayita-dinamaṇirya(r=jja)jñivān=Rājarājō rājanya-kshōda-

83 kēlī-tilakita-maha(hi)ma-vyāpta-dikra(k-cha)kravālaḥ |[|53*] Tasmin vi(di)g-[vi]jaya-prayāṇa-rasikē sa[ṁ*]rambha-śumbhach-chamu(mū)-sa[ṁ]kshuṇṇa-kshiti-chakra-pā[ṁ]śu-pa-

84 ṭala-prāgbhāravaty=amva(mba)rē | bhū-saṁspa[r]śa-ghṛinā-vaśā[d*]=dinamaṇēr=uchai-(chchai)ḥ p[l]utaṁ sapta(pti)bhiḥ svabhyasta[ṁ*] sura-sintu(ndhu)rēṇa dharaṇī-paṭṭē rad-ōdgha-

[1] There is an unnecessary *rēpha* stroke on this letter.
[2] Read *paṅktiṁ*.

85 ṭṭanaṁ(nam) ||[54*] Chōḍagaṁga-narēndrasya sūnur=uddāma-vikrama[1]ḥ [|*] Rājarāja iti khyāpu(ta)s=Trikaliṅga-mahīpatiḥ ||[55*] Viśva[ṁ*] krōḍayati praga-

86 lbha-yaśasi prālēya-śaila-tvishi yad=yad=yādṛig=abhūd=abhūta-sadṛiśaṁ santa[ḥ*] samākarṇṇyatāṁ(tām)||[2] dhātrī pī[ṭha*][3]ti liṅgati svar-achalaḥ prāsāda-

87 ti tvad-yaśō diṅ-nāthāḥ pratimanti yasya paritaḥ śrashṭu(śrēya)ḥ-padaṁ śri(śṛi)ṅgati ||[56*] Āna[ṁ]daṁ vidadhāti chētasi bhavat-kīrttir=gguṇa-grāhiṇaḥ

88 sūtē pē(dō)hadam=arthina[ḥ*] sumanasi śrī-Rājarāja dhruvaṁ(vam) [|*] s=ēyaṁ karṇṇa-pathaṁ samētya hṛidayē śalyāyatē vairiṇaḥ sv-āmē(tm-ē)chchhānu-

89 vidhāyinān=na hi nā(ni)jō bhāvaḥ kvachid=dṛiśyatē ||[57*] Ētasyāṁ bhuvi pañcha-viṅśa-(viṁśa)ti-samāḥ kshmāpāla-lakshmīdhavaḥ

90 kṛitvā jitvara-chāpa-chañchala-bhuja(jā)-dambhōlir=urvvīpatiḥ | rājyaṁ prājya-yaśas-tushāra-kiraṇa-śrēṇī-ragā(sā)d=āsa-

91 nād=udgachchha[t*]-puruhūta-gīti-charita-śrī-Rājarājō nṛipaḥ |[|58*] Tasy=ānujō nṛipati-rāja-padē=bhishiktaḥ s-ūkta(kti)-

92 priyaḥ parimit-ādinṛipa-praśastaḥ | pṛithvīpatiḥ kalimal-āhita[4]-dharmma-śuchcha(ddha)]-kāryya-kshamaḥ prabhur=asāv=**Aniyaṅkabhīmaḥ** ||[59*]

93 Vīr[5]-ādhishṭhita-saṅgar-ādri-śikharē sa(śa)[ṁ]kha-svan-āśāsitē kunt-ōdbhinna-madēbha-kumbha-vigalan-mukt-āvalī-puñjitē | harshād=ugra-

94 nija-pratāpa-dahanē khaṅga(ḍga)-śruchā vidvishāṁ rājñām=ānana-paṅkajāna(ni) nṛipati[r]=ggatv=ānayad=ya[ḥ*] śa(śri)yam |[|60*] Kshīr-āvdhē(bdhē)r=amṛitaḥ(tāt)=sa(su)-

95 r-āsu[ra-bhu]ja-vyāpāra-vikshōbhitā[ch*]=chandrasy=ārddham=abhū[t*]=tad=apy=a[dhi*[3]]-ya[yā]rī(v=Ī)śānam=ēkaṅ=kila | chañchad=vī(bā)hu-va(ba)lēna saṅgara-bhuvi dvi(tvat)-

96 khaḍga-dhārā-jalāj=jātas=tv=ashṭa-dig-īśvarā[t*]=pṛithu[6]-yaśa[s=cha*]ndra[ḥ*] samāliṅgati |[| 61*] Ya[t]-prayāṇa-samudbhūta-rajaḥ-sa[ṁ*]pūritē=mva(mba)-

97 rē | abhū[d]=dviradarājasya dhūlī-mada-chitā taru(nu)ḥ |[| 62*] Daśa varshāṇi vīrō=sau nirjjit-ārāti-maṇḍalaḥ | Aniyaṅkabhīma-bhū-

98 pīlō [dharitrīṁ] samapālayat ||[63*] Prau[ḍh-ānarggala]-vikramaḥ kula-[gṛihaṁ yō daṇḍanīti]-śriyaḥ saty-āchāra-vichāra-chāru-cha-

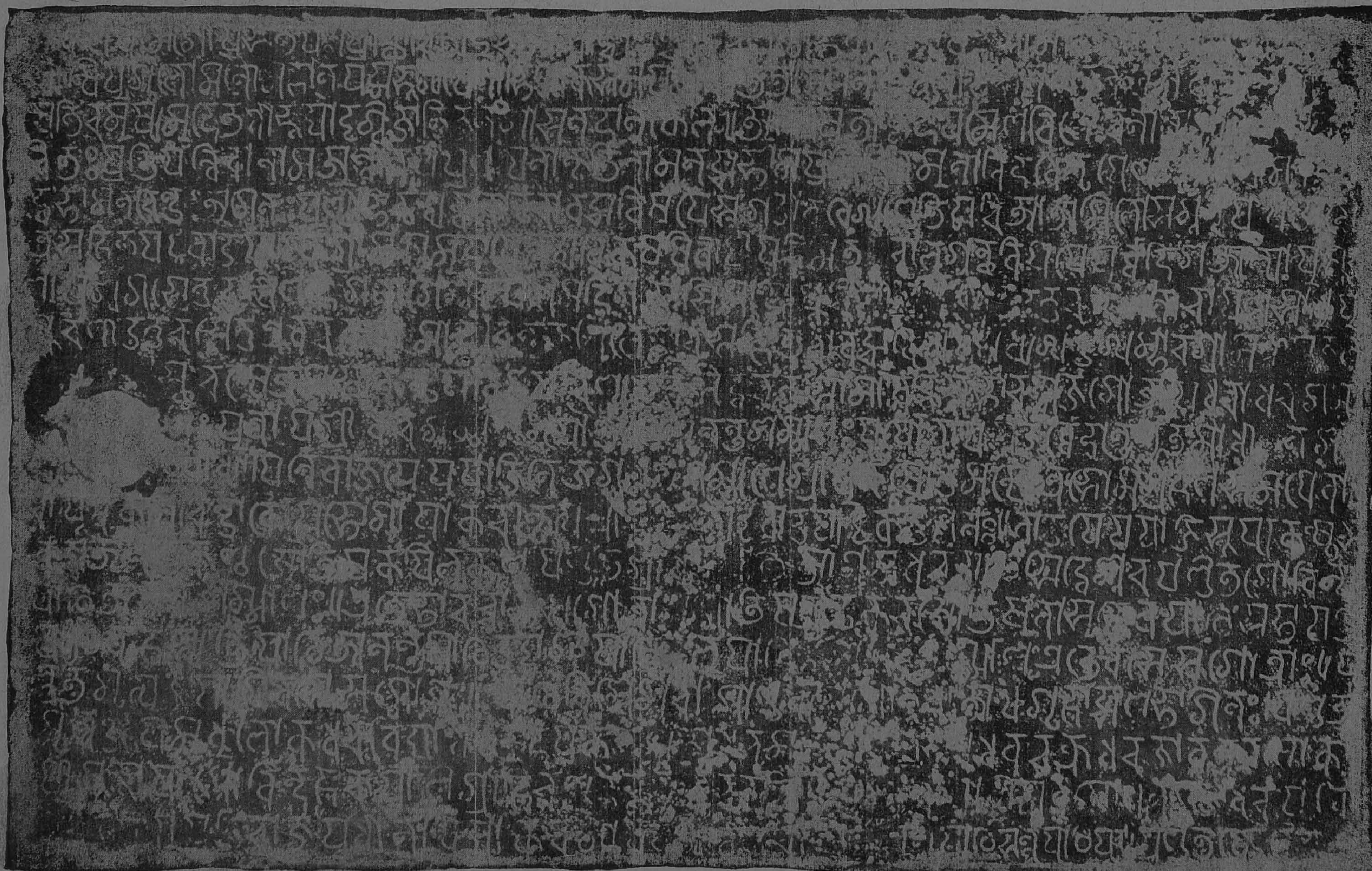
Fourth Plate, First Side

99 ritaḥ puṇy-aika-pārāyaṇaḥ | tasy=āsīd=Aniyaṁkabhīma-nṛipatēr=arddh-āṅga-lakshmī[ḥ*] svaya[ṁ*] [snē]hasy=ātiśayēna paṭṭamahishī Vā[ghalla]dēvī bhuvi|| [64*]

100 Tulita-pitṛi-guṇ-augha[ḥ] sūnur=āsīd=[amushyā niratiśayi]ta-[tējā] y[au]van-āvāpta-[rājyaḥ] | praṇata-nṛipati-chūḍā-ratna-rōchiḥ piśaṅgīkṛita-

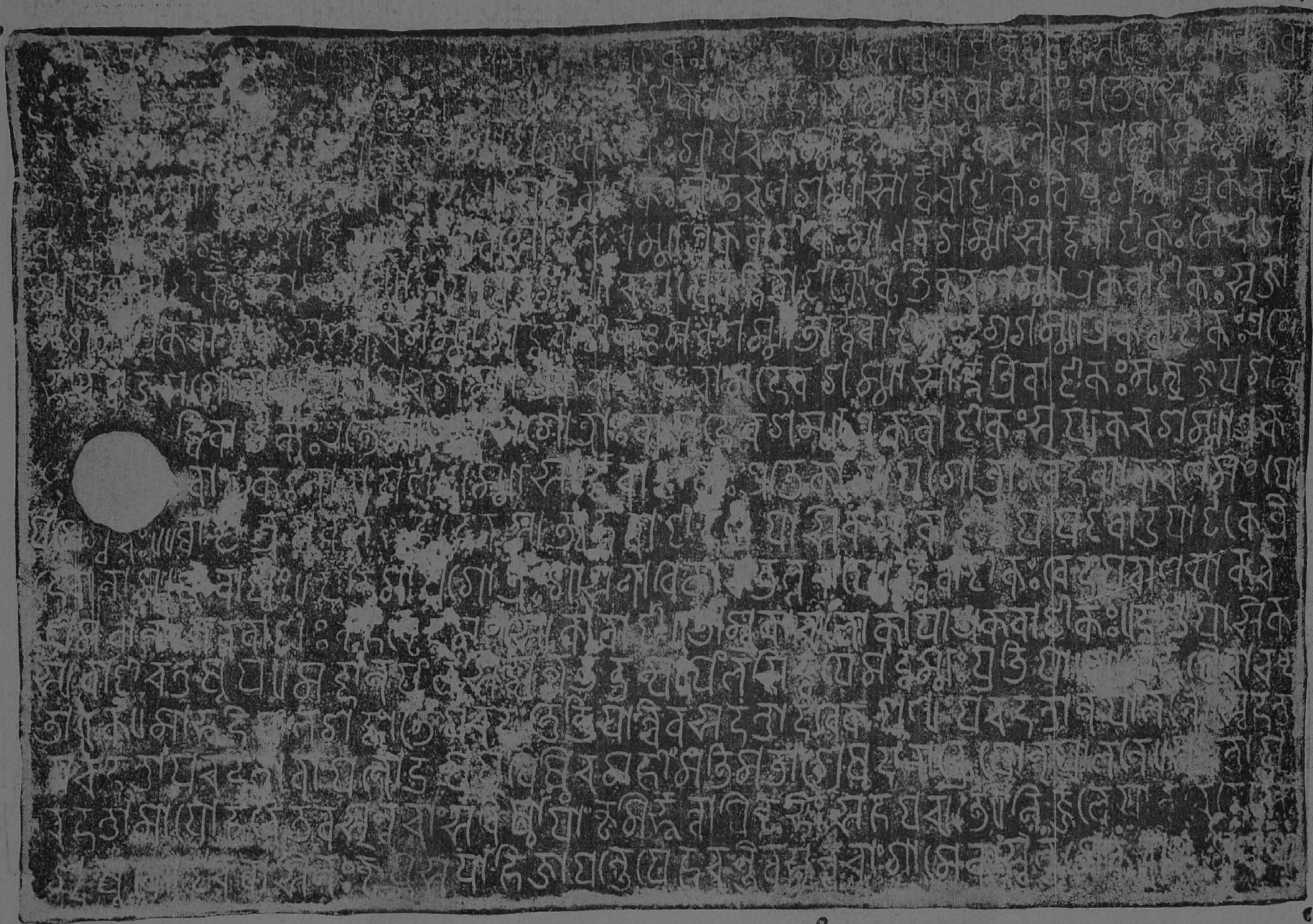
[1] There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* here.
[2] One *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.
[3] There is space for engraving this *akshara* but it has not been engraved.
[4] The Nagarī plates have °*ōjjhita*° here.
[5] An unnecessary *u-mātrā* is seen in this letter.
[6] Traces of an *akshara* resembling *m* are seen between *thu* and *y* here.

iv, b



G. S. Gai

v, a



Scale : Three-fifths

101 charaṇa-sarōjō **Rājarājō** nṛipālaḥ||[65*] Yasy=ōdyad-[vāji-vṛinda]-prakhara-khura-puṭ-āghāta-nirddhā(rddā)rit-ōrvvī-śa(sa)mbhūtam=bhūri-bhāsvat-kara-nika-

102 ra-guṇaḥ[1] syūta-sāndra-prayāṇē(ṇam) | vistīrṇṇaṁ karṇṇa-tāl-āhativvirabhirat[2]-ōnmatta-sēnā-gajānām=ashṭānāṁ diggajānāṁ mukhapaṭa-tulanā-

103 m=ādadhē dhūli-jālaṁ(lam)||[66*] Yasmin śāsati śāsit-āti-nikaraiḥ[3] samyak samudr-āmva-(mba)rāṁ pṛithvī[ṁ*] pārthiva-puṅgavē naya-guṇaiḥ śrī-Rājarājē

104 nṛipē | chakraṁ mMā(Mā)dhava eva taikshṇam[4]=adhikaṁ kaukshēyakē chintanaṁ[5] śāstr-ābhyāsa-vidhau vidhau cha jaḍatā kālē kalau śrūyatē ||[67*] Yat-kīrtti-

105 dugdha-jaladhir=bhuvan-āntarālaṁ sa[ṁ*]p[l*]āvya dūrataram=uchchhalitaḥ sa bhāti | tārā-gaṇā[ḥ*] sphuṭa-ruchō gaganē samantāt=sūkshm-ātisūkshma-tara-

106 lā iva viprushanti ||[68*] Tyāgē sau(śau)ryyē cha satyē cha Karṇṇ-Ārjjuna-Yudhishṭhiraiḥ [| *] sadṛiśō=yaṁ mahāvā (vī)rō Rājarājō narādhipaḥ ||[69*] Rāja-

107 rājō narapati[r=dda]śa sapta cha vatsarān | bhuvi rājya-śriyaṁ bhuktvā svā rājyāya pratasthivān | [| 70*] Chālukya-kula-sambhūtā vēlā sau-

108 ndaryya-vāridhēḥ | nāmnā Malhaṇadēv=īti mahishī tasya bhūpatēḥ ||[71*] Tasyām=abhūd=adbhuta-vikrama-śrīḥ śrīmān=ayaṁ bhūbhṛid=**A-**

109 **naṅkabh[ī]maḥ** | virājatē kīrtti-sudhā-taraṅgair=dhautāsu dig-bhittishu yat-praśastiḥ | [| 72*] Yasy=ānarggala-dōr-vvilāsa-la-

110 harī-lāvaṇya-vairi-vrajat-kranda[t*]-paura-vadhū-vilōchana-payaḥ-pūrair=dharā da[ntu]-rāṁ(rā) [|*] kiñ=cha tyāga-taraṅga-bhaṅgi-kalanaiḥ pāthōdhi-

111 yā n=ōtsavād=vrīḍā-vakrita-kandharaḥ sa bhagavān=manyē purāṇō muniḥ [||73*] Kas=tvam=bhōḥ kal̥ir=a[sm]i kin=nu vimanāḥ kasmai nivēdy=ātma-

112 naḥ śōk-ā[ṁ*]bhōdhim=apāharāmi kalayā ki[ṁ*] vētsi nō māṁ Hariṁ(rim) | yady=ēvaṁ kalay=ā[sma]dīya-samay-ōtkshēpāya Gaṅg-ānvayē jā-

113 taḥ śrīmad-Anaṅkabhīma-nṛipatiḥ sō=py=arthabhūtō mama ||[74*] Dhyān-ānuva(ba)ndha-nivi(bi)ḍa-prasara-pramōda[ṁ*] mādhvīka-mugdha-masṛiṇaṁ hṛida-

114 y-āravinda[m*] | dēvaḥ purāṇa-purushaḥ parirabhya yasya rōlamva(mba)-ḍamva(mba)ra-kalāṁ kalayāṁchakāra[6]||[75*] Lakshmī-rakshaṇa-sauvidarlla(lla)-pa-

115 davī[ṁ*] pratyarthi-pṛithvī-bhujāṁ prāṇ-āka[r*]shaṇa-rarjju[7](jju)-vaibhava=tulām=uddāmam=āmanda(ṇḍa)yan | saṅgrāma-sthala-kēli-tāṇḍava-kalā-pāṇḍi-

116 tyam=ā[ma*]ṇḍayan yēn=āyaṁ jagad-adbhut-aika-vilasat-krīḍā-naṭaḥ sāyakaḥ || [76*] Hiraṇyagarbha mā garvva[ṁ] kurushv=ēv=ēti s-ērshyayā [| *]

117 hiraṇyagarbhō bhūtvā yaḥ kshmām=imā[ṁ*] paripālayan(yat) ||[77*] Yasy=ānarggala vikram-ārjjita-yaśaḥ-kshīr-ōda-dāṇ-ōrmmibhiḥ dā(bhir=dā)tā-

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[1] The Nagarī plates have *°mahaḥ°* here (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 254, text line 101).

[2] Read *°bhir=avirat-ō°*

[3] The Nagarī plates have *°āmaragaṇaiḥ°* here (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 255, text line 103).

[4] There is an unnecessary *ṇa* engraved after this.

[5] The *anusvāra* mark is to the right.

[6] Read *kalayāñchakāra*.

[7] This *rēpha* stroke should have been engraved above *sha* of the previous word *°ākarshaṇa*.

Fourth Plate, Second Side

118 raḥ kila kāma-gō-prabhṛitayaḥ prōchchhō(tsā)ritā dūrataḥ | kiñ=ch=āyañ=cha hiraṇya-garbha-kalanā-[vai]dha(da)[gdh]yam=ā[karṇṇayal=lajjā-lōla-chaturmmu]-

119 kh-ākshi-yugalō manō(nyē) mahān padmabhūḥ ||[78*] Yēn=ābhishēka-samayaḥ kalita-trayēṇa nītas=tulāpurusha-dāna-kal-ānuva(ba)ndhaiḥ | lavdh=ā(bdh=ā)pi naḥ

120 kshitir=amushya mudē tath=ābhūd=yādrigvi(g=dvi)jāti-jana-śāsana-dāna-kēliḥ ||[79*] Āka[r]shatā hṛidayam=ēṇa-vilōchanānām=ā[dhunvatā cha pa]-

121 ritaḥ pratip[ā]rthivānām [|*] arth-ānvaya-praṇaya(yi)nā kṛitinām=Anaṅgabhīma-prasiddhir=amunā vidadhē nṛipēṇa [||] [80*] Sō=yaṁ śrīma[d-**Aniya**]-

122 **ṅkabhīma-narēndraḥ** ātmanaḥ puṇy-ābhivṛiddhy-artha[ṁ] **Kōṭarāvaṅga-vishayē Sagaḍāvadhi-khaṇḍē Ti[ppa]riāamvilō**-samva(mba)ddha-**Phaphaḍā-kshē-**

123 **tra**-sahitaṁ **Paṭuvāḍapāṭaka-grāmaṁ** [sa]mudāyēna dvy-adhika-shashṭi-vāṭī-pari-mitaṁ **Rālagunchha(ñcha)-vishayē** pūrvva-diśa(śi) alpā-pushkara-

124 ṇī-paśchima-sētu[ḥ] dakshiṇa-diśa(śi) Nāgēśvara[ḥ*] paśchima-diśa(śi) sasimā-pushkariṇī-[pūrvva-sētuḥ] uttara-diśa(śi) Nārāyaṇa-sādhu-pu-

125 shkaraṇī-uttara[1]-sētu[ḥ] ēva[ṁ] chatus-sīmā-prāchi(chī)na-Kapilēśvara-sahitaṁ **Rāvaṅ-ga-vishayē Madhya-khaṇḍ[ē] Khambhāra-grāmañ=cha** sa-jala-

126 sthara(la)-kshētra-matsyē(tsya)-kachchhapa-viṭap-āraṇya .... siddha-chatuḥ-sim-āvach-chhinnaṁ Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Dharādhara-śarmma-

127 ṇaḥ putrāya Śrīdhara-śarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Ananta-śarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya Yujurvvēd-āntarggata-Mādhya[ndi[2]*]na-śā-

128 kh-ādhyāyinē Vājapēya-yājinē Jaga[nnātha]-śarmmaṇē śrī-**Purushōttama-kshētrē Sōma-grahaṇa-samayē** vā(dhā)-

129 rā-pūrvvakam=ā-chandr-ārkk-ōpabhōgāy=ākarī-kṛitya pā(pra)[tipāditaḥ] Paṭuvāḍapāṭaka-[vā]sinaḥ|| Vājapēya-yāji Sūryyaka(kṛi)shṇa Sa-

130 rvvajña Anantakaṇṭha Jautisha Kapilakaṇṭha Paṇḍita Śrīdhara Pāṭhi Āgamadhara [Pāṭhi] Siddhēśvara Paṇḍita Gōvinda

131 Pāṭhi Arjjuna-śarmmāṇaḥ|| ētē Bhārachchā(dvā)ja-sagōtrāḥ || [Jau]tisha Rudrakara[3] Jautisha Vāsudēva Pāṭhi Sabhāpati

132 Pāṭhi Vṛi(Bṛi)haspati Pāṭhi Ananta Pā[4]ṭhi Uddāi Pāṭhi . la Pāṭhi Jaga[nnātha]-śarmmāṇaḥ ētē Vatsa-sagōtrāḥ|| Pa-

133 rṇṇata[5] Mṛityuñjjayā(ō=p)i Vatsa-sagōtraḥ || Pāṭhi Viśvēśvarā(rō) Māṇḍavya-sagōtraḥ || Atha gṛih-āṅgaṇa-bhāginaḥ | Paṇḍa(ṇḍi)ta

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[1] Read °*dakshiṇa*°.

[2] There is space here for engraving the *akshara ndi*, but it was not engraved.

[3] The name may have been *Rudrakumāra* as well.

[4] Some other *akshara* was attempted to be engraved here.

[5] The intended word seems to be *Paṇḍita*.

156  156

Scale : Three-fifths

134 Mṛityuñjaya Madhu Lōkadhara Vidyādhara [Ha]dap[ra]kara Ga[d]ādhara Ma .... ka.. dhava Chakradhara Jāvanara Lōkā-

135 yī Sūrjjāyī Gōvinda-haru Pāṇigrāhi Chaṇḍa . chchha .. ra . ri .... pāla Madhusō(sū)dha-(da)na Ga[d]ādhara Paṁ Vi-

136 śvē[śva*]ra Sēnāpati Rājapradhānī Vidyākara Mādhava · dhakar .. Pāṭhi Sannu Pāṭhi Purī [Atha*] Paṇḍita Vēda[vidāḥ] |

Fifth Plate, First Side

137 kha . ra[śrī] ...... Jyōtisha Rudrakara-[śar] mmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ | Gaṅga[la]-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ | Vṛi(Bṛi)haspati-śarmmā ēka-vā-

138 ṭī[kaḥ] | .. vara-śar[mmā] s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ | Ya[jña]-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ | Janār-ddana-śarmmā ēka-vāṭīkaḥ ētē Vatsa-sagōtrāḥ [||*]

139 A[nanta]-śarmmā .... [Vi]dyākara-śarmmā pañcha-vāṭīkaḥ Śrīdhara-śarmmā dvi-vāṭīkaḥ Dharaṇidhara-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ

140 Ga[d]ādhara-śarmmā dvika-vāṭīkaḥ [Sar]vadhara-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ Ābharaṇa-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ Vishṇu-śarmmā ēka-vāṭī-

141 kaḥ Kā[ma]dēva-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ Madhusō(sū)dha(da)na-śarmmā ēka-vāṭīkaḥ Mādhava-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ Mēdī-śa-

142 rmmā ēka-vāṭīkaḥ Uddāi-śarmmā Mayadhara-śarmmā cha pratyēkaṁ dvi-vāṭīkō Dhṛitikara-śarmmā ēka-vāṭīkaḥ Sujā-

143 i-śarmmā ēka-vāṭīkah Bhāṇakara-śarmmā arddha-vāṭīkaḥ Madhu-śarmmā arddha-vāṭīkaḥ Ugra-śarmmā ēka-vāṭīkaḥ ētē

144 Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāḥ || Viśvēśvara-śarmmā ēka-vāṭīkaḥ Rāmadēva-śarmmā s-ārddha-tri-vāṭī-kaḥ Mṛityuñjaya-śarmmā

145 dvi-vāṭīkaḥ ētē Māṇḍavya-sagōtrāḥ [||*] Vāsudēva-śarmmā ēka-vāṭīkaḥ Sū[r*]yyakara-śarmmā ēka-

146 vāṭīkaḥ Nārāyaṇa-śarmmā s-ārddha-vāṭīkaḥ ētē Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtrāḥ [||*] [Atha*] Vēda-Vyākaraṇa-maṭhayō=

147 [r] pa(ḥ=Pa)[ra*]mēśvaraḥ|| || Vāṭī ē[sha][1] Va(Ba)labhadra-dēvasya arddha-vāṭī daṇḍa-pāsi(śi)kasya vāṭī-dvayaṁ Paṭa(ṭu)vāḍapāṭakē Tri-

148 dēvānāṁ mmashṭa[2]-vāṭyaḥ || Pūtimāsha-gōtraḥ śāsanādhikārī Tallar-āryyō dvi-vāṭīkaḥ[||*] Vēda-Purāṇa-Vyākara-

149 ṇa-maṭhānāṁ nava-vāṭyaḥ [||*] Vri(Bṛi)hatvṛi(dvṛi)[ddha]-maṭhasyē(sy=ai)kā vāṭī || Tāmvvra(bra)kāra Lōkāyī ēka-vāṭīkaḥ || Daṇḍapāsi(śi)ka-

150 sya vāṭī-chatushṭaya[ṁ*] || Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-artha[ṁ*] tad-rakshā-phala-siddhayē [|*] maddharmmaḥ pratipālyō=ya[ṁ*] bhūpair=āchandra-

151 tārakaṁ(kam) || [81*] Mā bhūdi(d=a)phala-śaṅkā tē para-datt=ēti pār[3]thiva [|*] sa(sva)-dattād=adhika[ṁ*] puṇyaṁ para-datt-āna(nu)pālanē || [82*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*]

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[1] Read *ēkā*.

[2] Read °*dēvānām=ashṭavātyaḥ*.

[3] The *rēpha* sign is engraved between *pā* and *thi*.

152 para-dattāṁ para-dattā[1] vāṁ(vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahīm matimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch= chhrēyō=nupālanē(nam) || [83*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*] pa-

153 ra-dattāma(ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ(ram) [|*] sa vishṭhā(shṭā)yāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ||[84*] Nirjjalē prāntarē dēsē(śē)

154 śushkaṁ(shka)-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇa-sarpā hi jāyantē yē haranti vasundharāṁ(rām) [||85*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkaṁ vā bhūmēr=apy=a-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

155 rddham=aṁgulaṁ(lam)[|*] haran=nara[kam=āpnōti y]āvad=ābhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) ||[86*] Śatruṇ=āpi kṛitō dharmmaḥ pālanīyō manīshibhiḥ [|*] śatrur=ēva hi śatru[ḥ*] syād=dharmmaḥ śatrur=nna

156 kasyachit ||[87*] Tasy=ā[jñayā yathā-jñānaṁ] Gaṅg-ānvaya-gaṇān=prati [|*] praśasti-rachanā-ślōkāṁn Tallapaḥ[2] kritavān kṛitī ||[88*] Lōkāikēn=ōdghāṭitaṁ(tam)||

[1] This *para-dattā* is redundant.
[2] Read *ślōkāṁs=Tallapaḥ*.

No. 56—THREE EARLY KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DHARWAR DISTRICT

(*2 Plates*)

MADHAV N. KATTI, MYSORE

(*Received on 9.2.1967*)

The three inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, were copied by me in the course of my epigraphical survey of Kalghatgi Taluk, Dharwar District, Mysore State, during the month of October, 1965. Of these, No. I[1] is from **Araḷihoṇḍa** and Nos. II[2] and III[3] are from **Māvaḷḷi**, all belonging to the same Taluk.

I. Araḷihoṇḍa Inscription of Piṭṭiamman

This inscription was copied from a loose slab kept in the temple of Kalmēśvara in the village. The upper portion of the slab is broken. The text is in three lines.

The **characters** generally resemble those of the Yekkēri rock inscription[4] and Aihoḷe inscription[5] of Chālukya Pulakēśin II on the one hand and the Turimeḷḷa inscription[6] of Chālukya Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakēśin II on the other. In the Yekkēri rock inscription, the initial vowel *a* (lines 1 and 6) has the lower loop unconnected with the left of the upper stroke, whereas in the Aihoḷe inscription there are both types (lower loop unconnected, lines 1, 12 etc., lower loop connected, lines 3, 11, 14 etc.). In the inscription under discussion, this vowel occurs twice, once each in lines 1 and 2, the lower loop joining the left of the upper stroke in the former case and not joining in the latter. The Turimeḷḷa inscription has the letter *y* with its left loop fully developed in lines 1, 3 etc. and almost fully developed in lines 6, 7, 8 and 11. In the inscription under discussion, *y* occurs in lines 1 and 3 (once in each) and in both cases the left loop is fully developed and this feature becomes regular in the later periods. The other peculiarity in this inscription is in the formation of the consonant *k* in *kti* (line 2) where the vertical stroke is not bent in its lower part but remains straight. However the vertical stroke is bent in other cases (lines 1, 2 and 3) and these represent the features regular for the period. Thus on the basis of these palaeographical features and its general appearance, this inscription can be assigned to the middle of the 7th century A.D.

The initial vowel *a* occurs twice (once each in lines 1 and 2) and *e* once (line 3), final *n* once (line 1) and final *r* once (line 3), subscripts *k* (in *ḷko*) once (line 3) and *g* (in *ṅga*) once (line 3), *ṭ* twice (in *koṭṭār* in line 3 and *Piṭṭiamman* in line 1) and *t* twice in *Kaṇṇaśakti* and *datti* (in line 2). The **language** of the record is Kannaḍa.

Amongst the **orthographical** peculiarities, the use of *ṟ* and *r* in the words *Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ* and *Ereva* may be noted.

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[1] Registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1965-66, Appendix B. No. 377.

[2] Ibid., No. 405.

[3] Ibid., No. 406.

[4] Above, Vol. V, plate facing page 8.

[5] Ibid., Vol. VI, plate facing page 6.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, plate facing page 162.

The inscription states that while **Piṭṭiamman**[1] was ruling over the earth, Ereva Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ[2] gave away four *mattar* of land[3] belonging to Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa.[4]

The inscription states that Piṭṭiamman was ruling over the earth (*Piṭṭiamman pṛithuvi-rājya[ṁ] keye*). We know that the inscriptions of this period mention only a sovereign ruler as the ruler of the earth and sometimes without any royal titles.[5] Of course this practice continued even in the later period.[6] But in the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to state whether he (Piṭṭiamman) was an independent ruler or not, though he is mentioned to be ruling over the earth, because he does not bear any titles like *pṛithvīvallabha*, etc. which are usually mentioned for describing a paramount ruler by the inscriptions of this period. However, as this inscription belongs to the area which was under the suzerainty of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi during this century, it is likely that this ruler Piṭṭiamman was one of their feudatories.

Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa recalls to our mind some of the Sēndraka chiefs whose names also end in *śakti* as for instance Durgaśakti, Kundaśakti, Vijayaśakti[7] etc. Ereva Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ seems to be another chief. The exact relation between him, Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa and Piṭṭiamman, however, is not known.

TEXT[8]

1 [9]**Piṭṭiamman** pṛi[10]thuvirājya[ṁ] keye

2 Kaṇṇaśakti-arasara datti nāl-mattal=[bhū][mi*]

3 Ereva Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ=koṭṭār

II. Māvaḷḷi Inscription of Gaṇḍamahārāja

The inscription is engraved on a stone pillar set up near a dilapidated structure[11] in the deserted village **Māvaḷḷi.** The pillar has three panels, the 1st from the top containing a figure

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[1] In this word *Piṭṭi* appears to be the Prakritised form of *Pṛithvī*.

[2] *Ereva Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ* may be treated as one name or the term *ereva* may be taken to connote the regular meaning 'ruling'. The same purport can also be seen in *eṟeya* in *Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ* (Konn=eṟeyaṅgaḷ) which indicates his being a master (in the sense of administrator). Cf. Kittel, *Kannaḍa English Dictionary*, p. 279, under *eṟe*, where, the meaning of the word *eṟeya* is given as, a master, a king, etc. If both these terms are taken in this sense, this inscription would furnish one of the earliest instances where *r* and *ṟ* interchange.

[3] The name of the recipient of the grant does not appear in the inscripiton.

[4] It can also be interpreted that Kaṇṇaśakti -arasa made a grant of four *mattar* of land which was later on confirmed by Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ.

[5] Cf. *SII*, Vol. XX, p. 2, text of the inscription No. 2.

[6] *Vide* the expression *Tailapadēva pṛithivirājya geye* which is absolutely similar to the one occurring in the inscription under discussion. *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, B. K. Nos. 88 and 90.

[7] *SII*, Vol. XX, p. vii.

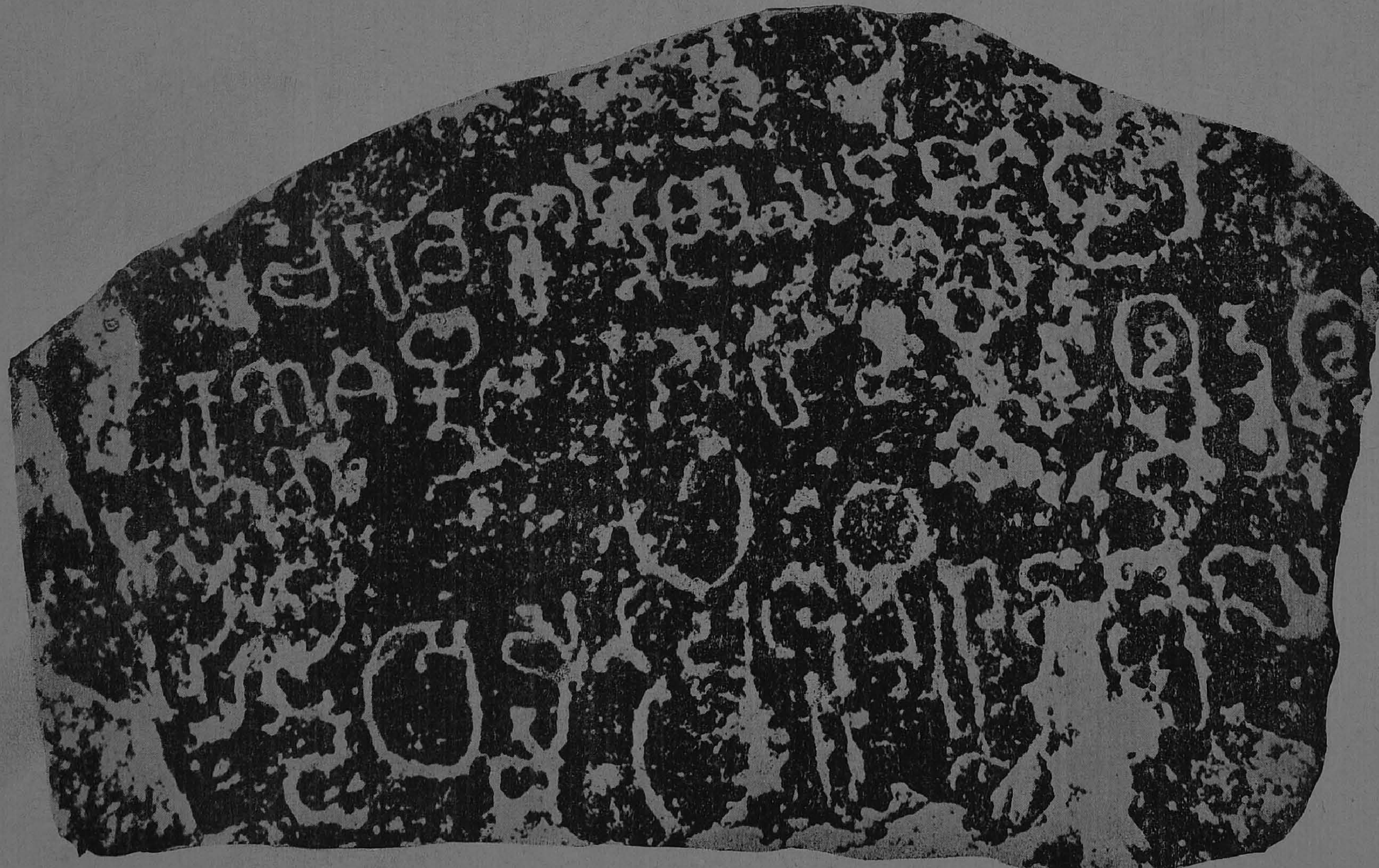
[8] From inked impressions.

[9] The text of the inscription is engraved from bottom upwards. It starts with *Ereva Konneṟeyaṅgaḷ* (line 3) and ends with *keye* (line 1). It is likely that there was the usual imprecatory stanza or the name of the recipient of the grant after the present ending, which is now lost due to the upper portion of the slab being broken; *vide SII*, Vol. XX p. 2, inscription No. 2 where the imprecatory verses follow the grant portion immediately.

[10] The *i-mātrā* is wrongly added to *pṛi* here.

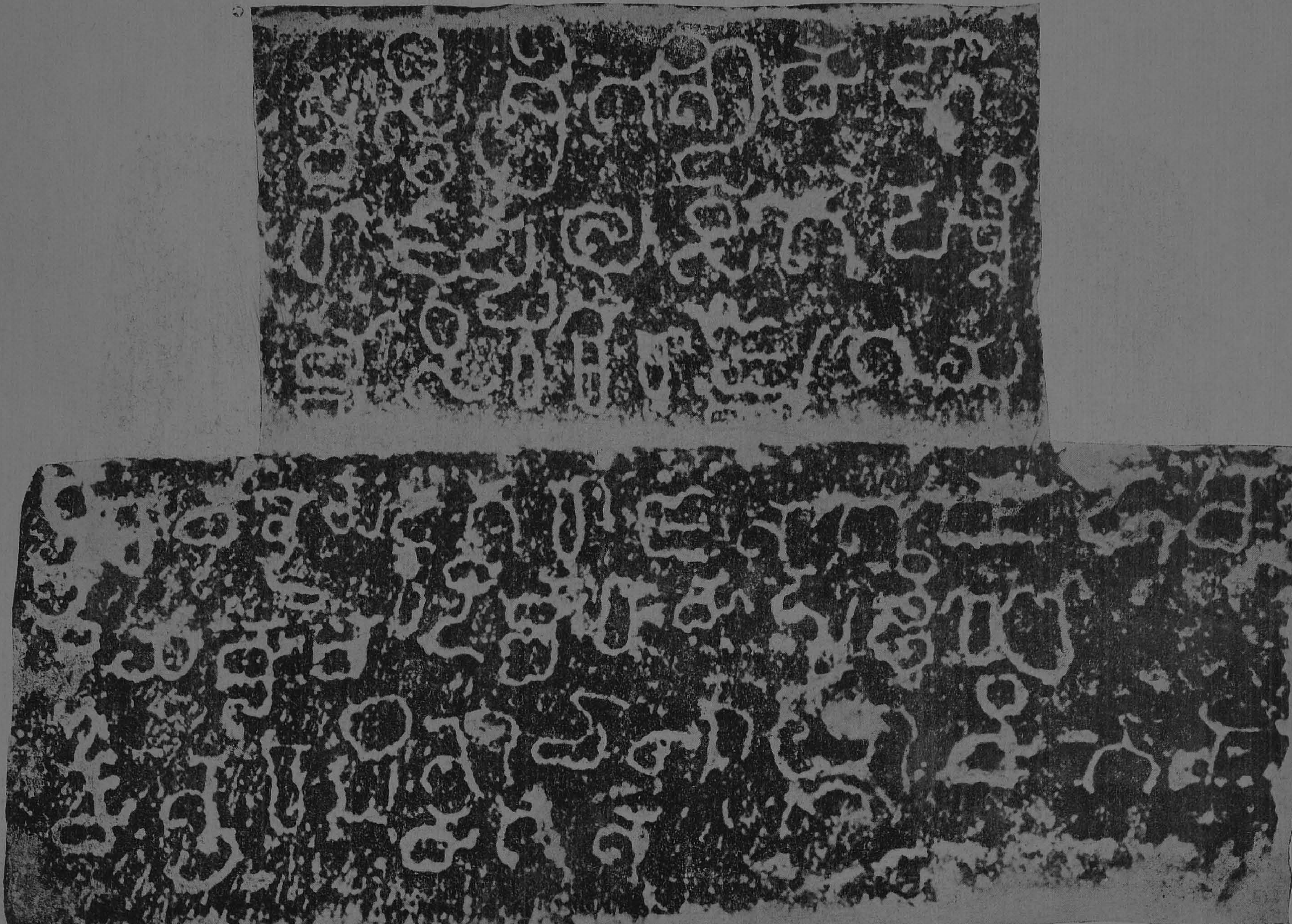
[11] The inscribed pillar has definitely some connection with the dilapidated structure as they (the pillar and the structure) represent the same style and are in the chloritic schist which is the stone used for the representative structures during the period from 8th to 12th century A.D. There is another inscribed pillar (also chloritic schist) near this structure edited as No. III below and a slab (also in chloritic schist) within a furlong from here, which bears a Kannaḍa inscription in characters of the 12th century. All these are lying in a cultivated field having an area of about 2 sq. furlongs. Medieval pottery could be noticed strewn over the whole area which represented Mavaḷḷi township during this long period of about four centuries. A few fragmentary sculptures including the head of a Jaina image were also noticed in the same area.

i. *Araḷihoṇḍa Inscription of Piṭṭiamman.*

2  2

Scale : One-half

ii. *Māvaḷḷi Inscription of Gaṇḍamahārāja*



Scale : One-half

(probably of a *Jaina Tīrthaṅkara*) flanked by two lamps, the 2nd containing the figures of two bulls and the 3rd containing the inscription being edited.

The record is in seven lines and the **characters** resemble in general those of the Beṭgere inscription[1] of Kṛishna II, dated A.D. 888[1] and can be assigned to the 9th century A.D.

Initial *ā* occurs once (line 5). The *rēpha* sign occurs twice (once in line 2, in *rājar=Ppalasige* and once in *°rchchāsira* in line 3). The **language** of the record is Kannaḍa.

Of the **orthographical** peculiarities, the reduplication of *p* following *r* (line 2, in *rājar=Ppalasige*) and the form *duga* (line 4, *dugarāja*) for *yuva* (*yuvarāja*) are noteworthy.

The inscription states that while **Gaṇḍa-mahārāja** was ruling over **Palasige-12,000** and Chandapa was the heir-apparent,[2] Mahāvaḷḷi was being administered by *Mūvadimbaru*. It mentions a son (name lost) of *Mantara* or *Āmantara* Biṇacha, a *nāḻgāmiga*.

The purport of the inscription seems to be the setting up of the pillar, on which it is engraved, by the son of *Mantara* (or *Āmantara*) Biṇacha, though it is not specified by the record.

The inscription brings to light a hitherto unknown chief **Gaṇḍa-mahārāja** who was administering over Palasige-12,000. The inscription does not say anything about his actual status as an administrator. However, since we know that the Rāshṭrakūṭas were the paramount rulers of Karṇāṭaka including this division viz. Palasige-12,000, during this century, it may be presumed that Gaṇḍa-mahārāja was one of their feudatories. The inscription is also silent on the relationship between Chandapa who was named heir-apparent and Gaṇḍa-mahārāja. *Mūvadimbaru* seems to be the thirty persons forming a body which was in charge of the administration of Mahāvaḷḷi. *Mantara* or *Āmantara* Biṇacha is mentioned as a *nāḻgāmiga*. The term *Mantara* (or *Āmantara*) seems to connote a family name.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in the inscription, **Palasige-12,000**, is the region around Halasige *i.e.* modern Halsi in Belgaum District, Mysore State. The earliest reference to this division as Palasige-12,000 was hitherto furnished by a record[3] dated, Śaka 853 (A.D. 931) and the present record takes back its existence by about a century. **Mahāvaḷḷi** is another place-name mentioned in the record and this is the same as Māvaḷḷi[4] (which is now a deserted village) in Kalghatgi Taluk, Dharwar District.

TEXT[5]

1 Svasti **śrī-Gaṇḍa-mahā-**

2 **rājar=Ppala[6]sige-Panni-**

3 **rchchāsirakke** rājya[ṁ]geyu-

4 ttire Chandapa dugarājan=āge Mahāva-[7]

---

1 Above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 182.

2 *Dugarāja* occurs for *Yuvarāja* in the later periods also. Cf. above Vol. XXVII, p. 226, lines 3 and ff. It can also be an alternative form for *durgarāja* in which case it can be supposed that Chandapa was looking after the administration of the forts.

3 *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B. 400.

4 It is interesting to note that this place had acquired the importance of a headquarter of the division, Māvaḷḷi-500 (named after the village), by about the 11th century (Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1965-66, Nos. B. 385 and 411).

5 From the impressions.

6 The line after *la* is accidental.

7 The line before *va* is accidental.

5 ḻḻiya[ṁ] muvadimbarum=āḷuttire Ā

6 mantara Biṇacha-nāḻgāmigana

7 magana

III. Māvaḷḷi Inscription of Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā

This inscription is engraved on another stone pillar set up near the inscribed pillar No. II above. The pillar has four panels one below the other, the 1st from the top containing the inscription (with a figure of the crescent above the inscription in the mid-top of the pillar) being edited, the second and third each containing the figure of a bull and the fourth containing the figure of a plough.

The record is in six lines and the **characters** resemble in general those of No. II above with the exception of the following letters which betray slightly later features : *ḍ* (line 1 in *Kaḍambā*) has its right loop more developed, the subscript *b* (line 1 in *Kaḍambā*) has its upper portion unconnected, *n* (line 2 in *Pannisāsira*) has more roundish features as compared with the same letter in No. II above. This record can be assigned to the later part of the 9th century on the basis of these palaeographical features and to a period slightly later than No. II above.

Initial vowel *e* occurs once (line 3, in *eṟeyavaṁ*). It is interesting that both the class-nasals *n* (line 2), *m* (line 1) and *anusvāra* (in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6) occur in this record.

Of the **orthographical** peculiarities, lengthening of *mba* (into *mbā*) in *Kaḍambā* (line 1) and the replacement of the usual term *pannirchchhāsira* by *Panni[sā]sira* (line 2)[1] are worth noticing. The **language** of the inscription is Kannaḍa.

The inscription states in lines 1-3 that **Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā** was ruling over **[Palasi]ge-12,000.** In lines 4-6, it mentions Polaiya and Śa[ṁ]keya and refers with some deed by them. It can be guessed on the basis of the letters not worn out that Polaiya set up the pillar and Śa[ṁ]keya caused the record to be engraved.

The record brings to light Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā, a hitherto unknown ruler of this important division Palasige-12,000. It is difficult to say to which dynasty he belonged though the term *Kaḍambā* indicates that he may have belonged to the dynasty of the Kadambas. No record of this dynasty discovered so far mentions the name Rāchchaya. If it could be proved that this chief did belong to this dynasty, he would be the earliest of the Kadambas to rule over this division.

Palasige-12,000 is the only geographical name given in this record and it is discussed under No. II above.

TEXT[2]

1 Svasti śrī-**Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā [Palasi]-**

2 **ge-Panni[sā]siravaṁ** ..

3 eṟeyavaṁ ge ....

4 ḍida Polaiya kaṁ[ba]. ....

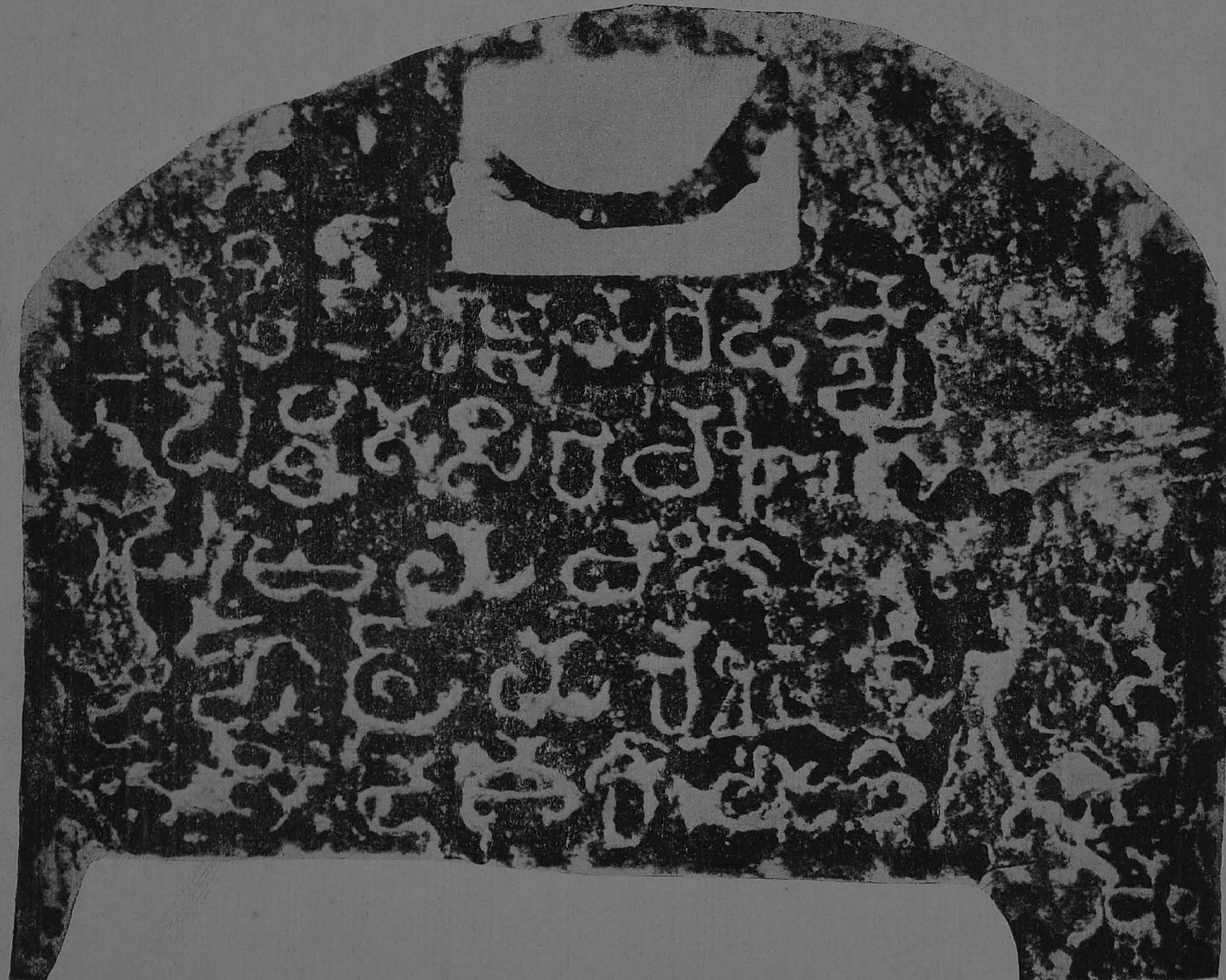
5 gēsida[ṁ] Śa[ṁ]keya ba[ra]si-

6 daṁ

[1] Cf. No. II above, text line 3.

[2] From impressions.

iii. *Māvaḷḷi Inscription of Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā.*



Scale : One-half

No. 57—TEMBURU PLATES OF UMAVARMAN, YEAR 40

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

(*Received on 12-2-69*)

These copper plates were discovered in Tembūru village in Patapatnam Taluk of Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh. Shri B. N. Shastri of Hyderabad, an enthusiastic worker in the field of Andhra History and Culture, obtained them from Dr. G. V. Sitapati and published in the Telugu Monthly *Bhārati*, Vol. 44, Part 12 (December 1967), pp. 13 ff. When I visited Hyderabad in December 1968, Shri Shastri was kind enough to hand over these plates to me for examination and study. The record is edited here from the impressions taken under my supervision at Hyderabad. The plates are now deposited in Navodaya Samiti Office at Hyderabad. I am thankful to Shri Shastri for placing the plates at my disposal.

The set consists of **three** plates, each plate measuring 15 cm x 6·5 cm. At the left end margin of each plate is a ring-hole, 1·2 cm in diameter, through which passes a ring, 12·5 cm in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of an oval seal measuring 7 cm x 5 cm. The depression of the seal bears in relief a legend in four lines which is rather indistinct. We can, however, make out the letters '—*Ōmavarmmaṇaḥ*' at the end. The weight of the three plates is 440 gm while that of the ring with the seal is 880 gm. The first and third plates are engraved on the inner sides only while the second plate contains writing on both the sides. The first and the second plates have suffered some damage with the result that some letters have become indistinct, though they can be easily made out from the context.

The **characters** are early South Indian of about the 6th century A.D. and resemble those of the other grants of the same king Umavarman, viz. the Bṛihatprōsṭhā grant,[1] Dhavalapēṭa plates,[2] Tekkali plates[3] and also of the Kōmarti and Bobbili plates[4] of Achaṇḍavarman. Of the initial vowels, only *ā* is found three times in lines 6, 17 and 18. The sign for *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 1 while that for *upadhmānīya* in lines 3 and 9. Final *t* is met with in lines 18 and 19, final *n* in line 2 and final *m* in lines 15 and 16. The numerical symbols for 10, 20 and 30 appear in line 19. As for **orthography**, the consonant following *r* is doubled. The **language** is Sanskrit and, except for the customary verses at the end, the text is in prose.

The charter is issued by *mahārāja* **Umavarman** from **Simhapura** and registers the gift of the village **Hōṇarēṅga** made to the *brāhmaṇa* Bhartṛiśarman belonging to Vāsishṭha-gōtra and Taittirīya-śākhā, for the increase of the merit and fame of the king's son Vasushēṇarāja. The gift-village is stated to have been made an *agrahāra* after separating it from Dantayavāgū division (*madamba*) so that it would enjoy the privileges of other *agrahāras* in Kaliṅga with exemption from all taxes.

The **date** of the grant is given in line 19 as the 20th day of Vaiśākha in the (*regnal*) year 40. This date is expressed by the two symbols 30 and 10.

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[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 132 ff. and plate.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 298 ff. and plate. See below p. 338.

[4] Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plate and Vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff. and plate. For the reading of the name of this king as Achaṇḍavarman and not Chaṇḍavarman, see ibid., Vol. XXXVI, p. 3.

The draft of the inscription closely resembles that of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of the same king Umavarman, dated in his 30th year, mentioned above. In both these grants, the ruling king Umavarman is described as *Bappa-pāda-bhaktaḥ* and *Kaliṅg-ādhipatiḥ* and both of them are issued from Siṁhapura.[1] While the Dhavalapēṭa plates[2], issued from Sunagara, describe him as *parama-daivata bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātaḥ*, the Tekkali plates[3], issued from Vardhamānapura in his 9th regnal year, call him as *pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ*. Venkataramayya, who edited the Tekkali plates, considers Umavarman of these plates to be different from Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant and the Dhavalapēṭa plates on the ground that the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* is absent in the Tekkali plates and that the seal of these plates contains a legend only in one line, reading *pitṛi-bhaktaḥ*, whereas the seals of the other two grants have a legend in four lines ending in *Mahārāj-Ōmavarmmā*.[4] In our opinion, the argument based on the absence of the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* is not a satisfactory one in as much as the Dhavalapēṭa plates also do not refer to Umavarman as *Kaliṅgādhipati*, which fact has escaped the notice of Venkataramayya. We may surmise that the Dhavalapēṭa plates (the date-portion in which is lost), along with the Tekkali plates of the 9th regnal year of Umavarman, were issued when the king had not assumed the title *Kaliṅgādhipati* which he did when he issued the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant in his 30th regnal year as well as the present plates in his 40th regnal year. As regards the difference in the legends of the seals, it may be pointed out that the legend in four lines given on the seals of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant and the Dhavalapēṭa plates as well as on that of the present grant is, unfortunately, not distinct except the last word *Mahārāj-Ōmavarmmaṇaḥ*. It is not certain whether this legend contained the expression *pitṛi-pādabhaktaḥ* also which alone is found in the one-line legend of the Tekkali plates.[5] We are, therefore, inclined to identify the Umavarman of the Tekkali plates with his namesake mentioned in the remaining three other grants, *viz.* the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, the Dhavalapēṭa plates and the present Tembūru plates. Thus the present set is the fourth grant of Umavarman discovered so far and records his latest regnal year as yet known, viz. year 40.

The **importance** of the inscription under study lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time that Umavarman had a son called **Vasushēṇarāja** for whose merit the grant was made.

The *ājñā* or the messenger was one Vāsudēva who was also the messenger of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant. The writer of the document was *dēśākhsapaṭal-ādhikṛita* Māṭrivara son of Haridatta, and these two persons are also mentioned in the other grant with the same relationship.[6] According to the Bobbili plates of Achaṇḍavarman, the charter was written by *dēśākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita* Rudradatta, son of Māṭṛivara. It is not unlikely that this Māṭṛivara might be identical with his namesake of the grant under review.

Of the **geographical** names, **Kaliṅga** is well-known and comprised parts of the present northern areas of Andhra Pradesh and southern parts of Orissa. **Siṁhapura** from where the

---

[1] The Kōmarti and Bobbili plates of Achaṇḍavarman are also issued from Siṁhapura and describe the king as *Kaliṅgādhipati*. Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that this Achaṇḍavarman might have been the son of Umavarman (cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 212).

[2] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 134.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 302.

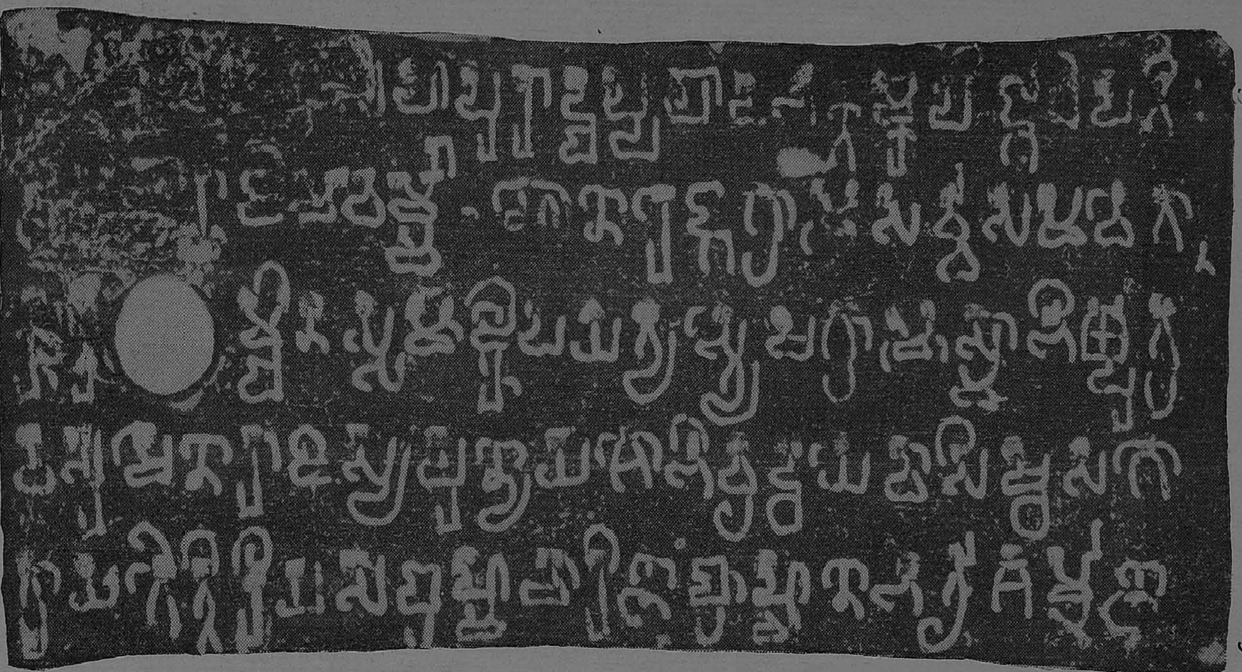
[4] Ibid., pp. 300-02. He suggests that this Umavarman might have been a successor of Achaṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti and Bobbili plates.

[5] In fact, the first line in the legend of the present grant seems to contain the words *pitṛi-pāda*....

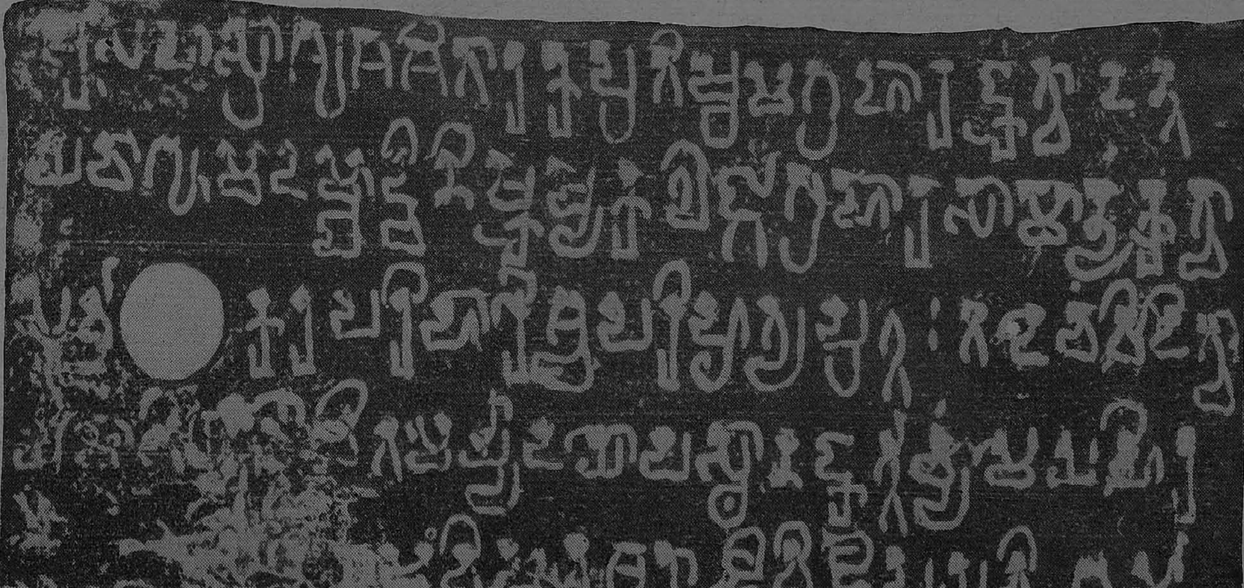
[6] In the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, the first two letters *Māṭṛi* of *Māṭṛivarēṇa* are slightly damaged but can be easily made out.

TEMBURU PLATES OF UMAVARMAN, YEAR 40

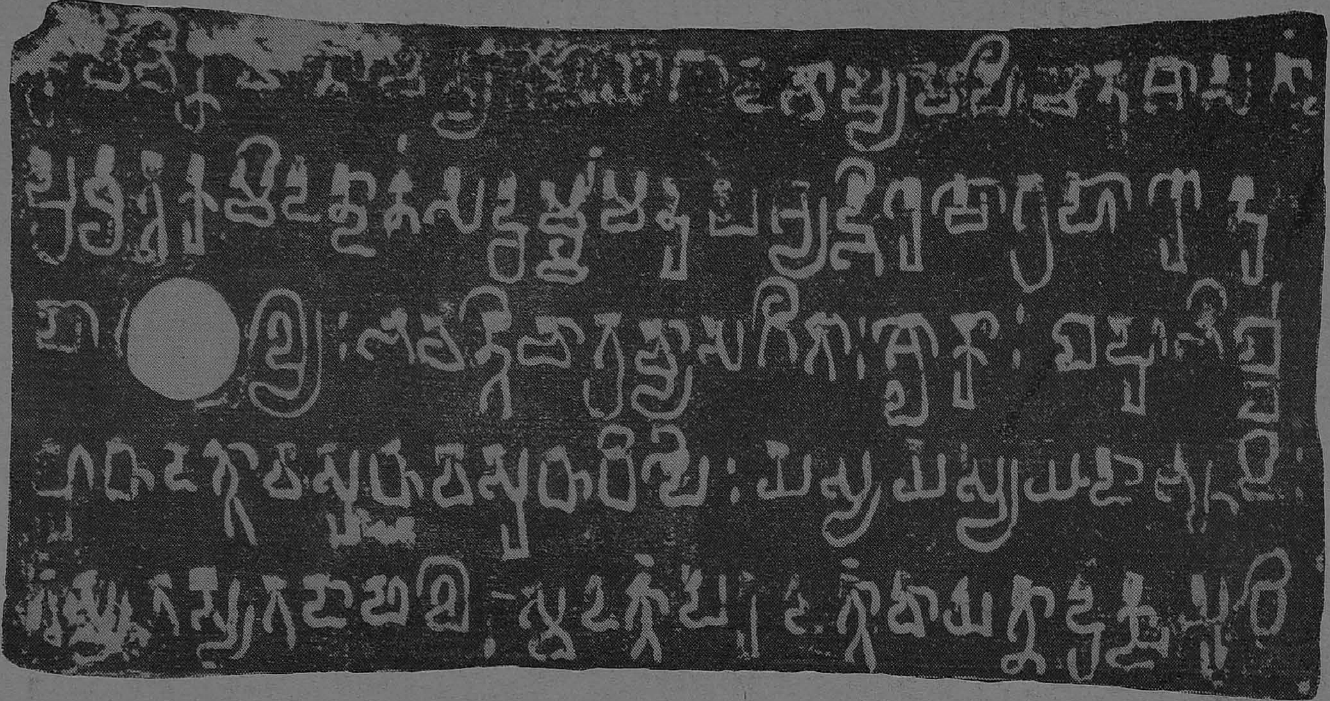
i



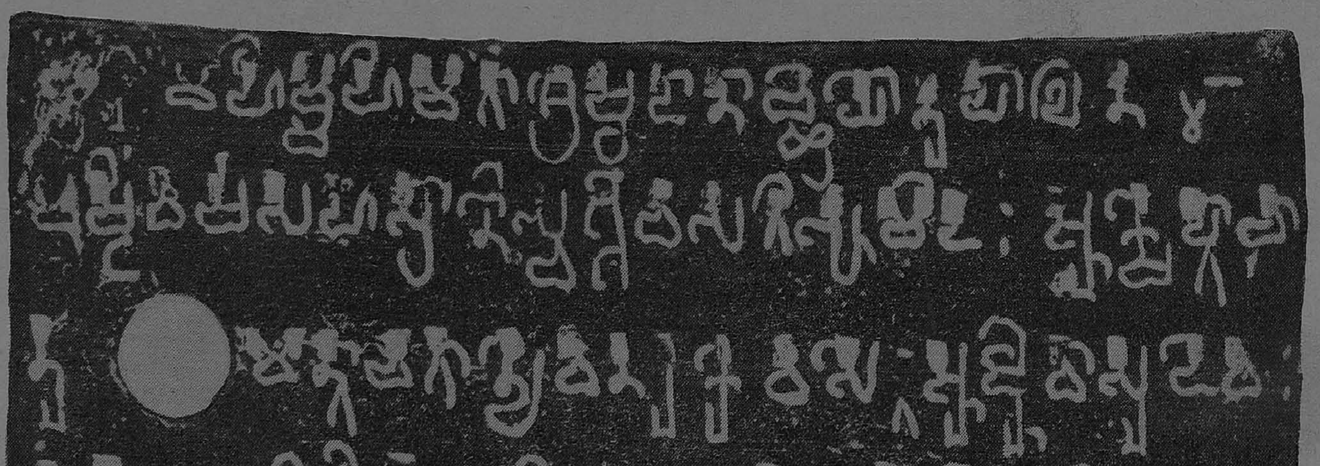
ii, a



ii, *b*



iii



Scale : Actual size

grant was issued is identified with modern Siṅgupuram in Visakhapatnam District and situated between Śrīkākulam and Narasannapēṭa. The territorial division **Dantayavāgū** is called in the present grant as a *madamba* whereas it is called a *bhōga* in the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant.[1] This and the gift-village **Hōṇarēṅga** cannot be identified.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3] [|*] [Svasti] vi[jaya][4]-**Siṁh**[5]**apurād**-Bappa-pāda-bhaktaḥ=Kaliṅg-ādhipatiḥ

2 [śrī-ma]hārāj-**Ōmavarmmā** |[6] **Hōṇarēṅga-grāmē** sarvva-samavētān

3 kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayaty=asty=ēsha grāmō=smābhiḥ=putra

4 **Vasushēṇarājasya** puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē Vāsishṭha-sagō-

5 trāya Taittirīya-sabrahmachāriṇē brāhmaṇa-Bhartṛiśarmmaṇē

Second Plate, First Side

6 ā-sahasrāṁśu-śaśi-tāraka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṁ=kṛitvā **Danta-**

7 **yavāgū**-madambād=vinishkṛishya[7] **Kaliṅg**-āgrahāra-sāmānyaṁ kṛitvā

8 sarvva-kara-parihāraiś=cha parihṛitya prattaḥ [|*] tad=ēvaṁ viditvā

9 yushmābhi[ḥ=pūrvv-ō][8]chita-maryyāday=ōpasthānāṁ=karttavyaṁ mēya-hira-

10 ṇy=ā[dyañ=ch=ōpanī] yam=bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayati [|*] dharmma-

Second Plate, Second Side

11 krama-vikramāṇām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpya mahīm=anuśāsatāṁ

12 pravṛittakam=idan=dānaṁ saddharmmaṁ(rmma)m=anupaśyadbhir=ēshō=grahārō=nu-

13 pālyaḥ [|*] bhavanti ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītāḥ ślōkāḥ [|*] Bahubhir=bba-

14 hudhā dattā vasudhā vasudh-ādhipaiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ

15 tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād·raksha Yudhi-

---

[1] Cf. the expression *Kharapuri-madamba-vinirggattaṁ Pattana-bhōga-vinirggataṁ cha kṛitvā* appearing in the Sripuram plates of Kaliṅga king Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.) where both the terms *bhōga* and *madamba* occur. *Bhōga* appears to be a bigger division than *madamba*.

[2] From the impressions.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] These two letters are damaged and only their traces can be seen.

[5] The *i-mātrā* and the *anusvāra* above this letter *Si* are damaged.

[6] This punctuation mark denoted by a horizontal stroke is unnecessary.

[7] The Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant has *Dantayavāgū-bhōgād=uddhṛitya*, though Jultzsch reads *Dantaybvācu-o.*

[8] The protion in the bracket has been damaged.

Third Plate

16 shṭhi[ra] [|*] mahīm=mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || [|*]

17 Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēpatā ch=ā-

18 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] ājñā Vāsudēvaḥ

19 Saṁvat 30 10 Vaiśākhā(kha) dī(di) 20 dēśākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita-

20 Haridatta-sūnunā Mā[tṛi]varēṇa likhitam=iti || ||[1]

[1] There is a floral design between these *daṇḍas*.

MGIPC—S1—4 DGA/67—17-7-72—750.

TEMBURU PLATES OF UMAVARMAN

Seal



Scale : Actual size

CEEI-1—XXXVII-8.
1000

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII OCTOBER 1968 *PART VIII*

EDITED BY

DR. G. S. GAI, Ph. D.,
Chief Epigraphist

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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Page 3, text line 1.—*Read* Siddhaṁ[3] [....] tasya

,, 8, f.n. 1.—*For Mausaaparvan*, read *Mausalaparvan*

,, 16, line 27.—*For* Vidarba *read* Vidarbha

,, 16, f.n. 7.—*For Kāvyāmīmāṁsā read Kāvyamīmāṁsā*

,, 17, f.n. 1.—*For* द्वयक्त *read* द्व्यक्त

,, 21, f.n. 8.—*For akshaas read aksharas*

,, 22, *text line 27.—For* श्रष्ठ *read* श्रेष्ठ

,, 25, line 9.— *For* Harshvardhana *read* Harshavardhana

,, 27. 7.—For indentification *read* identification

,, 31, line 17.— *For* Padda *read* Pedda

,, 34, text line 10.—*For* rājabhis=*read* rājabhiḥ (bhi)s=

,, 34, f.n. 8.—*For* ast *read* last

,, 38, f.n. 1.—*For* 215 *read* 235

,, 44, text line 15.—*For* gṛithīvā *read* gṛihītvā

,, 48, line 21.—*For* Śāka *read* Śaka

,, 48, line 29.—*Delete* 'further on'

,, 51, line 14.—*For* Irugupa *read* Irugapa

,, 51, f.n. 6.—*For* B 330 *read* B 336

,, 58, f.n. 3.—Add.—There is a third record too, *viz.*, the Valipattana C. P. grant o Raṭṭarāja, dated Śaka 932. See IHQ., Vol., IV, pp. 203 ff.

,, 59, text line 6.—*For* nṛipa-gaṇa *read* nṛipa-guṇa

,, 60, f.n. 2.—*For Ādityavarmā read Ādityavarmmā. Also read* 'a cross-mark after *varmmā*' etc.

,, 62, line 17,—*Delete y*

Page 74, line 32.—Add a note:— Cf. the expression *vipralumpaka* used as an adjective of the bad king in the *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 309) and explained by the commentators as 'one who confiscates property by inflicting improper punishment.'

,, 76, line 2.—*For* verse 4 *read* verse 5

,, 77, line 26.—*For* appear *read* appears

,, 85, line 13.—*For* thich *read* thick

,, 86, last line.—*For* Pedday *read* Peddaya

,, 88, line 21.—*For* Cheṟuvu- *read* Cheṟupa-

,, 90, text lines 30-31.—*For* it *read* iti

,, 91, text line 69.—*For* Padumaṭi *read* Paḍumaṭi

,, 91, text line 82.—*For* yāt *read* syāt

,, 96, line 2.—*For* Cheṟuva *read* Cheṟupa

,, 101, text line 110-11.—*For* dakesiṇataḥ *read* dakshiṇataḥ

,, 102, f.n. 4.—*For* b characters *read* bold characters

,, 104, line 9.—*For* Katakapuri *read* Kaṭakapurī

,, 104, line 12.—*For* Pramād *read* Pramādi

,, 105, line 21.—*For* Anata *read* Ananta

,, 106, line 24.—*For* fortressess *read* fortresses

,, 109, f.n. 1. line 11.—*For* Śrīrangapaṭṭṇam *read* Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam

,, 124, text line 18.—*For* हंसाव *read* हंसीव

,, 125, f.n. 7.—*For* the Rāmatirtham etc. *read* The seals of the Rāmatīrtham, etc.

,, 126, line 29,—*For* the full-moon day *read* on the full-moon day.

,, 133, line 29.—*For* Mādhavaśorman *read* Mādhavaśarman

,, 134, lines 9-10.—*For* hero-stone from *read* hero-stone inscription from

,, 138, f.n. 1.—*For Kaṇḍuha read Kaṇḍuka*

,, 141, line 36.—*For* fmportance *read* importance

,, 145, line 20.—*For naptoḥ* read *naptuḥ*

,, 146, f.n. 9.—Do.

Page 154, f.n. 6.—*For* lüders *read* Lüders

,, 155, f.n. 3.—*For* V. S. 1921 *read* V. S. 1321

,, 159, f.n. 3, line 1.—*For* Indravarmon *read* Indravarman

,, 159, f.n. 3, line 5.—*For* f our *read* of our

,, 160, line 20.—*For agrahārika read āgrahārika*

,, 160, line 36.—*For mahatttara- read mahattara-*

,, 164, line 3.—*For* his *read* her

,, 164, text line 3.—*For* [śrī]dēvībhir= *read* [Śrī]dēvībhir=

,, 164, f.n. 5.—*For* annual funeral ceremony of *read* annual *śrāddha* ceremony.

,, 166, f.n. 3.—*For* Śaka 947 *read* Śaka 946

,, 171, line 26.—*For* Ka[dh]ika and Kambhāra *read* Kā[dh]ika and Kāmbhāra.

,, 176, line 37.—*For* respecctively *read* respectively

,, 179, lines 17-18.—*For* Tiruvaraṅgachchiṟiyānbhaṭṭar *read* Tiruvaraṅgachchiṟiyā-chchānbhaṭṭar.

,, 179, line 35.—*For* Kaḷarpūr *read* Kalarpūr

,, 181, text line 35.—*For* Saṁga (ka) the *read* saṁgatā(kathā)

,, 182, text line 51.—*For* Nurumgal *read* Nuṟuṁgal

,, 183, f.n. 6.—*For ē* of the *gan read ē-mātra* of *gau*

,, 186, f.n. 5 line 5.—*For* cowards *read* towards

,, 196, f.n. 2.—*For* Pibliography *read* Bibliography

,, 198, f.n. 3.—*For* Thap *read* Thapar

,, 205, line 14.—*For* seventh *tithi* of the month *read* seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month.

,, 206, f.n. 1,—line 11.—For *kṟita*-read *kṛita*–

,, 206, f.n. 3.—*For bhubhṛiti read bhūbhṛiti*

,, 206, f.n. 4.—*For-āmbuvattcād= read āmbuvattvād=*

,, 206, f.n. 6.—*For -brīḥ read*-śrīh

,, 206, f.n. 7.—*For Chakrāyndhan read Chakrāyudhau*

,, 207, f.n. 4, line 6.—*For* Nāgabhṭa's *read* Nāgabhaṭa's

Page **211**, text line 1.—*For* sudi 9 *read* sudi 2

,, **213**, line 3.—*For* Velipattu *read* Vēlipaṭṭu

,, **213**, line 4.—*Read* Kōnādināḍu situated in Chaṅgalipaṭusīma in the Paḍavīḍu-mahārājya etc. Also *add a note*. The geographical units Reṇḍāyiravvēli-pattu and Chaṅgalipatu are evidently identical respectively with the Raṇḍāyira-mahāvēli and Śeṅgaḷanīrpaṭṭu of the Unmanjeri plates of Achyutarāya of Śaka 1462. See above Vol. III, p. 154, text lines 99 ff.

,, **213**, line 6.—*For* Kūttanūru *read* Kuttanūru

,, **213**, line 24.—Do.

,, **214**, text line 21.—*For* यन *read* येन

,, **214**, text line 22.—*For* स्थिरा and कामिना *read* स्थिरी and कामिनी [:] respectively.

,, **215**, text line 32.—*Read* कासपु(प्पो)डयम-

,, **217**, text line 71.—*For* तंज्ज्य-*read* तज्ज

,, **218**, text line 86.—*For* संतोष(षि)ष [:] *read* संतोष(षि)ण [:*]

,, **218**, text line 101.—*For* भिषक क्षणा -*read* भिषेक [:*] क्षणा-

,, **222**, line 23.—*For* pas *read* was

,, **223**, f.n. 7.—*For Bhōjacharita read Bhōjacharitra*

,, **227**, line 22.—*For* Vasu *read* Vāsu

,, **228**, text line 3.—*For* visēsha *read* viśēsha

,, **229**, text line 18.—*For* nair=rddhūtā- *and* -Endru- *read* nair=ddhūtā- *and* Ēndra- *respectively.*

,, **229**, text line 19.—*For* archchati (ti) *read* archchatiḥ (ti)

,, **229**, text line 21.—*For* ṭhaukitām *read* ḍhaukitām

,, **231**, text line 57.—*For* saha-dēvarāja- *read* saha Dēvarāja-

,, **233**, line 21.—*For* Pāmanghāṭi *read* Bāmanghāṭi

,, **234**, line 31.—*For* Rāyabhañja *read* Rāyābhañja

,, **234**, line 36.—*For* Kushika- *read* Kuśika-

,, **236**, f.n. 2.—*For* Vol. XXIV, P. 157, *read* Vol. XXV, pp. 147 ff.

Page **237**, text line 15.—*Read* sutaḥ [Khi]-

,, **237**, f.n. 2.—*For* instancce *read* instance

,, **238**, text line 21.—*For* chatusī (s-sī) mā vachchhinaḥ *read* chatusī (s-sī) m-āva-

,, **238**, text line 28.—*For* *vachchhinnaḥ* *read* chchhina(nnaḥ)

,, **238**, text line 28.—*For* -pavēśah⁶ *read* -pavēśaḥ⁶

,, **243**, f.n. 1 (line 4).—*For* *uchchrāpitaḥ* *read* *uchchhrāpitaḥ*

,, **243**, f.n. 1 (line 9).—*For* *prachchāda* *read* *prachchhāda*

,, **244**, line 11.—*For* tbough *read* though

,, **245**, line 13.—*For* toe *read* the

,, **246**, line 19.—*For* remcmbered *read* remembered

,, **247**, line 6.—*For* Ṭhāṇa *read* Ṭhāṇā

,, **247**, f.n. 6.—*For* 3, pp. *read* 4, pp.

,, **248**, line 4 5.—*Read* Sōḍḍhaḷa, in his well-known *Champūkāvya* named *Udayasundarikathā, etc.*,

,, **252**, text line 23.—*For* वेयप *read* वैयप

,, **254**, f. n. 1.—Add :—The correct reading is ? only.

,, **255**, text line 62.—*Read* पोषणा [र्थं°]

,, **255**, text line 73.—*For* सद्या *read* सद्यो

,, **259**, f.n. 1. (line 3).—*For* *Śilābhanja* *read* *Śilābhañja*

,, **259**, f.n. 1. (line 9).—*For* Gandhata *read* Gandhaṭa

,, **260**, line 15.—*For* Aṭhamallik, the findspot etc., *read* Aṭhamallik, which is only six miles from the findspot etc.

,, **260**, text line 3.—*Read* Bhañjānarādhipaṭayō

,, **265**, line 11.—*For* Aichadataka *read* Aīchadataka

,, **272**, line 16.—*For* Bhoppuga *read* Boppuga

,, **272**, line 25.—*For* lines 57-60 *read* lines 51-60

,, **272**, f.n. 4.—*Add* Vol. VIII, pt. I *after* Ibid.,

Page 273, line 8.—*For* Jayasaṅga- *read* Jayasiṅga

,, 274, text line 8.—*For* vimukuta *read* vimukta

,, 277, f.n. 1.—*For tKṛishna read Kṛishṇa*

,, 278, line 2.—*For śreshthin read śrēshṭhin*

,, 278, line 11.—*For śrēshṭa read śrēshṭha*

,, 280, line 37.—*For* Dōḍyā *read* Ḍōḍyā]

,, 282, line 27.—*For* Sāmbalūrav *read* Sāmbalūra

,, 284, line 4.—*For* Ēlasvāmi *read* Ēlasvāmin

,, 284, text line 8.—*For* -svāminaḥ(nē) *read* -svāminaḥ- (nyai)

INDEX

By S. Sankaranarayanan, M.A., Ph.D.

The figures refer to pages, '*n*' after a figure to foot-notes, and *add* to additions and corrections. The following other abbreviations are also used; *au.*=author; *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *chron.*=chronicle; *ci.*= city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *de.*=deity; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*= Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=family; *fe.*=female; *feu.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *gr.*=grant, grants; *hist.*=historical; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions; k,=king; l.=locality; *l.m.*=linear [measure, land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office, officer; *peo.*=people; *pl.*=plate,plates; *pr.*=prince, princes; *prov.*=province; *q.*=queen; *reg.*=region; *rel.*=religion, religious; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; s.a.=same *as*; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *Tel.*=Telugu; *t.d.*=territorial division; *tit.*=title; *tk.*=taluk; *tn.*=town; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*= work; *wt.*=weight.

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